

# BENGATI LITERATURE

IN THE

NINELLENIH CENTURY 1800-1825



#### HISTORY

OF

## BENGALI LITERATURE

IN THE NINETFENTH CENTURY 1800 1825

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## TO MY FATHER

#### PREFACE

With the object of drawing the attention of scholars to the comparatively uncultivated field of Benguli Literature, I have in the present volume embodied the results of some of my researches into it. These investigations were first undertaken in 1912-1913, chiefly for the purpose of my cessay for the Griffith Memorial Prize for Original Research for 1915 and were subsequently worked up in 0 a thesis for Premeband Roychand Research Studentship for which it was approved in 1918.

In selecting the nineteenth century for treatment out of all other periods I am actuated by several considerations In the first place, the nineteenth century possesses a peculiar interest for us. It is the period of British influence on Indian thought and one which witnessed a new awakening and the growth and building up of modern Bengal and modern Bengali Laterature The importance of this period in all its aspects political social religious as well as literary can never be exaggrerated. It is to be repretted however that we possess no adequate and connected infor mation about the period and the literature in which indeed the civilisation of modern Bengal can be traced and without which that civilization cannot be fully understood I have not heard of any scholar who has yet made the nineteenth century literature his special study and written any special account of it. The earliest attempts at writing a connected account of Bengali Laterature—the Bengali discourse of Rajmarayan Basu and the little pamphlet of Ganga Charan Sarkar-were meant chiefly as popular lectures rather than any comprehensive and synthetic study of the subject Puncht Ramgati Nearastur's mon considerable and painstaking work is fir too ketchy and too orthodox to serve as a connected and critical account, and his treatment of the mineteenth century, with which the Pundit seems to possess but little sympathy, is mergin and hasty Mahamahopadhyay Hamprisud Sha tri's frintful researches in the field of carly Benzah Interature is wellknown, but it is to be regretted that the learned scholar did not direct his investigation to comparatively modern periods except by way of contributing a single-tive survey of the mnetcenth century literature in the old wires of the Bangadarsan It is needless to mention other subsequent works like those of Padmanibles Ghosal, Mahendry Nith Bhattacharjee, Karlas Chandra Ghose, Romesh Chandro Dutt and others, for researches in the field or it least accumulation of materials have necessarily made great studes in the thirty or forty veries which have clapsed since then publication. The most recent treatment of the subject is to be found in Babu Dinesh Chandri Sen's newly published History of Bengali Literature, but it must be admitted that the learned author's account of the unetcenth century, which is dealt with only putially and which possibly did not come within the scope of his hierd lectures, is tacked on as a soit of appendix to his more valuable work on the earlier periods and, based as it is chiefly on the doubtful authority of Rev J Long's Calalogue, it is in itself a hardly satisfactory study of the schools and leaders of this important era of Bengali Literature It is remarkable indeed that recent investigations and researches in this field are directed more towards ancient Bengali Interature than towards its more modern phases. This apparent want of interest in a very noteworthy period must not, however, lead one to underrate its importance. It is true that the period of European writers in Bengali is not very acceptable

to a mere literary taster hat even in this seemingly dullest period of our literary history there is much more than is ever dreamt of in the philosophy of the airy generaliser who harries over it to pastures more agreeable. It is the silent but strenuous efforts of the hosts of forgotten or half forgotten writers both foreign and native, of this and later periods that have huilt up the whole fahric upon which the present-day literature is based but it has always been the misfortine of the worthy pioneer authors to be kept in the background and looked upon as notable currosities. It is time however when their records are fast vanishing and in a few years will be irretrievably lost, that we must hasten to estimate their work and worth. reconstruct their history, and give them their respective share of credit in the growth and progress of the national hum

Being thus without a competent guide in the field but convinced of the importance of the work I have been obliged to chelk out my own path. The purpose and scope of the present volume will be rendered planer by a glance through the book itself than I could hope to make it here except by way of enticipating what will be found in the following chapters I may briefly add however that my object has been to give, from a literary point of view but with a background of social and political history, and from a direct reading of the literature itself an account of the important period in which, indeed the obscure origina of modern Bengalı Laterature is to be sought making it as full and as conveniently arranged as I could provide, The volume must not be regarded however, as a mere storehouse of facts and elthough presented as an essay of literary and biographical criticism it may also be taken es an historical review of the course of Bengali Laterature from its decadence after Bharat Chandras's death to its

represention under the British influence—if not a minute, at least a complet and logical survey of the authors and works that demand attention. It would be too late in the day surely to insist upon the historical method of study of literature, but it has never been externatically and consistently applied to the investigation of modern Bengali Interature.

I am indeed aware that "the historical estimate" has its perils and snares and more than often results in etrange freaks and that the discoverer of some forgotten minor writer is often under the temptation to magnify the value of his discovery, yet in applying the historical in thod in literary criticism I am following what is widely accepted by all philosophical critics. It is indeed the best way to attain that "disinterested objectivity" in criticism which Matthew Arnold so highly applauds and to avoid that "provincial spirit" which he rightly condemns must not be supposed, however, that I have substituted bird's eye views and sweeping generalisations for positive knowledge. The chain of historical summary can never be forged without the links supplied by individual facts Nor, on the other hand, should it be supposed that I have a peculiar theory of my own or any particular school to uphold Not a single sketch has been discoloured nor the comprehension of the general duit distorted by my own ideas. On the other hand, each author has been judged on his own merits and in order to obtain a true historical perspective, I have treated liferature not as an isolated phenomenon but have taken care always to keep in view the relation of the literature to the social and political history of the time, for literary thought and gontemporary events, as I have pointed out elsewhere, are indeed the two inseparable aspects of history. The task of such a reconstruction is by no means easy and one can never claim infallibility or finality in a matter like this. To make a proper estimate of modern literature is indeed one of the most difficult tasks of literary criticism. An old country and its old literature is a study; but a new country and its new literature is a problem. It is hard to realise the past, but it is harder to read the present. All that this work can lay claim to is that a systematic though tentative attempt is made to study a progressive literature during a most noteworthy period in all its remarkable phases reflecting the thought and culture of the specified country and age.

But the following pages form only the first volume of my projected history of the 19th century literature. It deals with a very small part of the subject and with a seemingly barren and uninteresting period between 1800 and 1825. This is concerned in the main with the well meaning hut scarcely literary activity of the European writers chiefly missionanes and their colleagues in the domain of Bengal prose as well as with the strong counter current of native energy which found its vent in a body of indigenous poems and songs, standing as they do in direct contrast to the work of the Enropeans. The Introductory Retrospect is a brief preliminary recapitulation of the facts and circumstances which led to the beginnings of the modern age and modern hterature. It should be taken as an introduction not only to the present volume but also to the volumes which will follow To many. minutely conversant with the history of this period the account would seem to be madequate while to others. interested directly in the literature itself it would seem disproportionately long and dry It is extremely difficult, indeed, to hit happily upon the golden mean between brevity and prolixity yet the necessity of such a retrosnect must be admitted. It was not within my province

to give more than a mere rapid sketch of the history of the period in all its varied aspects but only with reference to its bearings upon literature, although volumes may be and have been written on their difficult and vast subject I have not hesitated to dian very considerably upon what has already been written on it and indeed I have drawn so considerably that it is not possible to acknowledge my indebtedness in all cases except by way of a general reference in the bibliography. The recognised historians of this period of Indian History, I may be permitted to add, have divergent methods and view-points. Auber is complacent, Mill querulous, Thornton vindictive, Ghulam Hosain exuberant, Macaulay sweeping and Romesh Dutt vehement, but the steadily accumulating mass of materials, in the shape of reports, pamphlets, bluebooks, state-papers and other documents would give to a patient scholar enough material for a thorough, sober, and I must add, imperatively necessary reconstruction of this period. The account of the European writers, which follow this introductory sketch, is made as full and accurate as materials at my disposal would allow, for never has full justice been done to these worthy proneers who have been allowed to pass silently into oblivion. The average reader knows no other names than those of Carey and Marshman but the interesting group of writers, great and small. who surrounded or preceded these great names and added their little mite to the cause, are also worthy of grateful They are, therefore, presented here as remembrance reputable and fauly interesting persons and not as unpresentable progenitors always to be kept in the background The early missionary movements in Bengal are studied for the first time from original sources with reference to their bearing on Bengali language and literature and some pains are taken to trace the rather obscure

and neglected history of the early Roman Catholic missions to Bengal and their connexion with Bengali. The account of the Kahiwaka and other indigenous writers could not be made as full and well arranged as I had desired for the materials and means of study are extremely scanity and unesatisfactory. I am still engaged upon this investigation and am collecting materials for fuller treatment in the mean time what is presented here must be taken as merely tentative.

The large number of quotations from various works scattered throughout the volume, no doubt swells it to an snormous length but I could not always control the length of these illustrative extracts for each quotation in order to be illustrative, must be presented as complete in itself Scraps and fragments and stray passages are not always helpful In the next place the comparative scaleity of the books from which such passages are taken will, it is hoped, be an ample apology for their length and frequency When the history will come down to more recent times the quotations will naturally become fewer for one may then depend on the reader a means of acquaintance with the literature of his time. In these quotations I have carefully preserved the spelling and punctuation of the original texts with which in all cases I have minutely compared and verified them. It will be also noticed that I have refrained from giving any translation of these Bengali extracts for the simple reason that no translation could have adequately conveyed the spirit of the original and that the real importance of these waters he not so much in their matter as in their form and method of expression which mere translation can never réproduce.

As to obrouology and classification, it is better to make a preliminary remark. Controlling dates and names,

although necessary and useful if kept within bounds, are intended merely as artifices of classification, for a bitter understanding of the general drift There can be no hard-and-fast limits as encompassing an epoch, and history must unfold itself without any preconceived notion of artificial dates and eras. It is for this reason that in the present volume, the activity of the European writers has been traced for a certain unity of treatment down to the fifties, although after 1825 their influence was on the wane, and other movements were becoming prominent. On the other hand, I have thought it simpler to defer an enquiry into the first glimmerings of the struggle between Anglicism and Orientalism and the history of English education in its bearing on Bengali literature as well as the account of the rise of the Reforming Young Bengal under the leadership of David Hare, Derozio and others to the beginning of a separate volume, instead of dealing with them piecemeal at the end of the present essay Some of the works of Raja Ram Mohan Ray and his colleagues belong chronologically to this period, but from the standpoint of literary history, they embody a subsidiary movement which comes into relief a little later, and are, therefore, deliberately reserved for later treatment out therefore disturbing in the least the true historical perspectivé, I have never attempted to force an account of any movement, literary or otherwise, into strict chronological shackles, but I have sometimes boldly looked forward while at others paused for a profitable retrospect, always bearing in mind that the natural course of events seldom takes as smooth and orderly development as we may desire.

With regard to transliteration of Bengali words, I have generally followed, with the exceptions noted below, the international method agreed upon by Orientalists for Sanscrit In some cases where the name of a place or a

person has got a standarsed spelling (as in Chinsumh, Howrah, and Burdwan), I have thought it fit to retain it but in all other cases the transliteration is done in the mode judicated with the only exception of ming cha for B The words are however, always rendered not phonetically, but according to the recognised spelling although widest possible divergence exists between the historical spelling and the actual pronunciation of Benguh words. I have therefore always rendered a by ya whether occurring singly or in compound letter 1 by na distinguishing them respectively, although they are not so distinguished in pronun enation from \$ (1a) and \$ (sa) Similarly the three consonants ₹, ₹ and ₹ are distinguished by different signs (6, 9 and s) sithough they not often thus discriminated in pronunciation. The same remark applies to compound letters I have rendered as in Sansent, W by kan w by fla and so forth Partly on account of this divergence between spalling and pronunciation which makes it impossible to apply Senscritio transliteration in toto to the case of the living vernacular I have been forced to make one or two important exceptions I have not distinguished between ▼ (va) and ▼ (ba) for this distinction is hardly recognised in Bengali either in spelling or pronunciation I have therefore used be indiscriminately for them. The final T (a) presents some difficulty for very often it is passed over in pronunciation We write 417414 (Nila-darpaira) but we read it as Ang My (Nil-darpan) In these cases, I have generally dropped the \( \mathrea{a} \) This on the whole is not a very catisfactory method but in the absence of a better one I have tentatively followed it here leaving the whele question which is indeed one of great practical importance to the consideration of expert scholars

In the task of collecting materials for the present volume, I have met with considerable difficulties known

only to workers in the same field. Although not more than a century has elapsed, the publications passed in neview have already become very scarce and have soldom been satisfactorily reprinted, and in search of them, I had to tansack many libraries, great and small, departmental, public, and private, in Calcutta and outside, to which I could get access. Much of these interesting publications of the early nineteenth century is unhappily lost, much, unless we hasten to the resene, is fast vanishing, while much, again, is scattered all over the country finding its way ultimately among many heterogenous collections, public and private No complete history can ever be hoped for, till all these old publications and files, more or less complete, of old news-papers have been disentembed There is not a single news-paper office in Calcutta and Calcutta is a fair example of the country in this matter that possesses a complete file of its own issue not a single hbrary, public or private, which contains even the more important Bengali publications of the first half of the century However interesting and useful stray extracts or stray passages from these papers or publications may be, it is utterly impossible to write the history of this or any other period of the country's progress, political, social, or hterary, as fully as could be done if these and other things had been carefully preserved or collected together But in view of the fact that even what is now extant may in the course of a few years be metrievably lost, it is time that we must seriously think of constructing a general view of the period out of the materials which still remain to us.

The writer of this thesis, however, has been successful in having access to most of the important publications he has dealt with. For the privilege of reading and examining large number of books passed in review only a trifling percentage of those mentioned was inaccessible to him.

and it was necessary to examine many that proved to be unworthy of mention-I have to thank the authorities of many libraries in or near Calentia. I had expected to find a good collection of Bengali publications preserved in the Serampore College Library but besides a few relies of the venerable old Carey, various missionary tracts, a nice collection of books pertaining to the history of the missionary movements in India and a few old files of the Friend of India and other Christian papers I could discover nothing else of any interest. Through the kind interest of a friend who was residing in England at the time when this book was in hand and who at my request transcribed books and details for him, I had access though not to the extent I had desired to the benefit of the collection in the Library of the British Museum and of the Indus Office, with regard to both of which I had also invaluable help from Blumbardt's descriptive Catalogues But my chief indebtedness is to the Library of the Board of Examiners, late Fort William College, from which all the Bengali publications of that College had been procured for me by the anthorities of the Imperial Library of Calcutta My thanks are also due in this connexion to the late Mr W E Madge formerly Super intendent of the Reading Room in this Library and to Mr Surendranath Kumar his successor to the same office for their interest in my work and for uniform courtesy and kindness shown to me during the time I studied there I must also thank the anthorities of the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat for permitting me to make ample use of its fine collection of Bengali books and manuscripts My special thanks in this respect are due to Bahu Basantaranjan Ray keeper of these manuscripts for kindly giving me all facilities for using them and also for placing at my disposal his expert knowledge in this matter. He never

grudged to render me help whenever I required it and also very kindly undertook to compare and verify the quotations cited from these manuscripts in the Appendix to this volume I should also take this opportunity of associating this insignificant work with the honoured name of the late lamented Principal Ramendiasundai Tribedi, who was, in more than a metaphorical sense, the life and soul of the Sālutya Parısat His recent and untimely death is mourned all over Bengal and there is no need for prolix panegyiics in the case of one who is so widely known by his life and work, but I cannot remain satisfied without giving voice to my sense of indebtedness and esteem for one to whom I am grateful in many ways and without expressing my personal regret that I could not show him these pages, in which he took so much interest, in print. To the tipe and varied scholarship of Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Shastii, I am deeply indebted in divers ways, for I was always allowed to draw liberally upon it, and his contagious enthusiasm for Bengali language and literature has been a source of unfailing inspiration to me

Among other friends and scholars who kindly helped me in various ways, my thanks are specially due to my friend and colleague Professor Rameshchandra Mazumdar MA, Ph.D for steady encouragement, for valuable suggestions and for procuring me some rare books from the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society—I may be allowed to note here that Dr Mazumdar first drew my attention to the only extant copy in that Library of Manoel de Assumpçao's Crepar Xartier Ortholied, one of the earliest printed books written by a Portuguese missionary—To another friend and colleague, Professor Sumithkumar Chatterji—MA, I am indebted for help in various ways and specially for getting me a copy of Father Guerin's edition of the work referred to above from Father Wauters of Dharmatalla

Church, and I must thank Professor Narayanchandra Banerjee M.A of the University for a copy of Gaptaratnoddkār which I could not get here and which he produced for me very promptly from Benares. My friend Babu Mohitlal Mazumdar very kindly and carefully prepared an index to this volume which for shortness of time could not be printed in this volume. I must also acknowledge obligations to the Staff of the Calcutta University Press for prompt assistance and unfailing courtesy in getting these pages in print in a remarkably short time. To them and to all others who have helped me by leuding books by giving facilities for research and in other ways, it is a pleasance to return my heartiest thanks.

I cannot conclude without availing myself here of the privilege of expressing my deep sense of ohligation to Sir Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya who has been at the helm of this University for many years past and would be let us hope, for many years to come It is not necessary to dwell upon his undoubted titles to our gratitude esteem and love, or upon the roll of his varied services, not yet closed up the cause of University education in Bengal for every one connected with the University or standing outside, is well aware of his long and nostinted devotion to the interests of the country and of the high sense of duty which impels him to scorn delights and live labori ous days not for nobes or honours place or power nor even for such fame as grows on mortal soil But I may be permitted to refer in this connexion to his brilliant and fruitful efforts which have at last obtained academic recog nition for the neglected vernacular languages and liter atures of India and to acknowledge the magnificent in ducement, now made possible by him for the scientific study of those languages and literatures. It is his in spiration which dispelled all my doubts about the necessity

of a work like this and it is his generous encouragement which has made possible its publication

I am fully aware that this essay is not free from errors and defects. In a held where workers are few and encouragement, until quite recently, very little, one has to work under considerable difficulties and disadvantages and nothing would be more welcome than sympathy and co-operation With the progress of investigation in the held, new facts are bound to come to light every day, and even of the facts that have already been known we can never pretend that he has taken them all into consideration. All suggestions for improvement and correction therefore would be thankfully received. There are a few obvious misprints and mistakes which, in spite of my best efforts, the necessity of quick publication could not avoid and for which I crave the indulgence of the generous render. The exceedingly short time within which the book had to be rushed through the press did not allow me in all cases to verify the references given in the footnotes and in some cases the books, though easily procurable at the time of writing this essay, had now become difficult of access and for these I had to depend entirely upon the notes I had previously made. These shortcomings, however, let me trust, are not material. In conclusion I can only hope that the volume contains enough to justify its publication in the present form

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## BENGALI LITERATURE

IN THE

### NINETECNTH CENTURY

#### CHAPTER I

#### DIVISION OF SUBJECT

The literature produced since the permanence of the British rule in Bengal which is often conveniently described as modern literature has a character

The literature why called modern" of its own at once brilliant, diverse and complex. To label it in a phrase is not only difficult but often misleading for never was there a literature more memorable for its rapid development and its copious and versatile gifts. It can to-day boast of many characteristics and the central note is lost in the extreme diversity of forms and tendencies solve it is full of vitality versatility and diligence critical and enlitered intensely personal and self-regulated apparently defiant of all laws of standards of conventions yet a little

The character of modern Bongali literature essentially different in its form and motivo from its pre-British fore-runner reflection will show that in spite of this diversity of styles and motives this epoch has a character which differentiates it from any other era of Bengali literature. Can we imagine Kranakaster Uti being published in the

age of Bidylipati or Nil-darpan in that of Bhilat-chandra?

How different are the problems of life and character which Kabikankan paints from those we see reflected in the pages of Rabindranath! What a new world is that of Michael, Hem, or Naban beside that revealed to us by Bijay, Ksemananda, or Ram-prasad! What wholly different types, ideas, and aims! It may not be easy to indicate what these characteristic differences are, but there can be no doubt that our age, although presenting, as it does, instances of a dozen different styles, certainly possesses its own

Hence the necessity of a separate treatment in spite of historic continuity unmistakable ceitgeist in phiaseology and substance which distinguishes it from all other ages. What these characteristic points of difference are

we shall see clearly as we proceed in our study of the literature itself, but at the outset it must be admitted that modern Bengali literature, as such, has surely a claim for treatment peculiarly suited to itself

But it would be a difficult problem in social dynamics

The starting point

to fix any thing like an exact date for this change in the tone of the literature of to trace it back to its social

causes Broadly speaking, our literature began, no doubt, with the permanence of the British rule and the spread of western ideas, but these events cover almost a century from 1757 to 1857 The death of Bhārat-chandra in 1760, only three years after Plassey, in which we reach a political and

The dates usually and generally accepted are 1760 and 1858, but both seem arbitrary

social cause of the great change, is often taken as the typical date, but it might also be contended that the death of Isvai Gupta in 1858 marks

the end of the most effective note in the older current of literature and the beginning of the new era. Yet both these dates, it is obvious, are purely arbitrary points. For the modern tone in literature can hardly be detected in any

thing written after 1760 till almost half n century elapses on the other hand the growth of this new trend in literature may be detected some half a century earlier than 1858 and Isvar Gupta himself is not wholly free from the new influence. If an approximate date is necessary it is to be found somowhere in the first quarter of the 10th century and the year 1800 is usually and may be

No exact date can be fixed; but 1800 A.D. may be taken as the approximate one.

roughly taken to be the starting point. But it must be borne in mind that such approximation of a date is intended, more or less merely to

facilitate classification Some misguided oritic has been induced to baptise this era of literature as the Victorian age Such a nomenclature is not only mistaken but also misleading for as not by a well known critic of the present day neither reigns nor years nor centuries nor any arbitrary measure of tune in the gradual evolution of thought can be exactly applied or have any formative infinence A period of so many years having some well known name by which it can be labelled is a mere artifice of classification; 1 Subject to this cantion however we may safely take 1800 to be the starting point in the new era of Bengalı literature

But the historian of literature cannot, however

Yet we are bound to take account of the most eventful period between 1760 and 1800; and th period 1800-1858, though not rich in actual production, is yet its formative stage and its importance can not be ignored.

overlook the long dead-season for fifty years which preceded the year 1800 for although in period we have scanty literature yet work of another kind was being accomplished in these apparently barren years From the battle of Plassey to the beginning of the 19th century, mighty revolutions were occurring not only in the political and the social but also in the literary lustory of Bengal. In an historical study of literature, the farreaching significance of these years cannot surely be ignored. On the other hand, although the first half of the 19th century till 1858 is comparatively briten from a strictly literary point of view, yet this was the formative period of modern literature, and the early devoted labours of the various philanthropic Europeans and Indians, whose memory is still cherished by grateful Bengalis, had sown the seeds which, when the time came, broke into the rich and lovely after-growths of modern times

We, therefore, propose, taking 1800 A D to be roughly
the year of commencement, to discuss

Original into poriods (1) Introductory Re trospect, 1760 1800 and decide, first of all, by way of introduction, the question of origins, with a preliminary recapitulation of the causes and circumstances, political, social, and literary

which led to the beginning of modern literature. This will involve a cursory review of the period between 1757 (or 1760) and 1800 in its various aspects, and its bearing upon literature. From 1800, the year of the foundation

of the Fort William College and the formation of the Srījāmpui Mission, to 1825, the year of the publication

of the last volume of Carey's Dictionary and the laying of the foundation-stone of the Hindu College, we have a period of very great importance in our literature from an historical rather than a literary point of view for we are concerned here with the early beginnings of our literature, with the labours of the Missionaries and the Civilians, and with the early efforts, public and private, for the spread of British education in Bengal From 1825 to

1858, the year of the death of Israr Gupta and the first
appearance of Michael's dramas
followed within five years by the pubheation of Tilottama, Atl-darpan and

Durges nandini we are in a transitional period of great ferment on every side during which the country awakened to now energies was struggling to break fresh ground hy semmilating the wealth of new ideas now brought before it All the greatest strifes social religious and literary were fought, though not completely won during this period of awakened activity. The problem of English education now decisively settled the triumph of the West was fully proclaimed and the literature as well as the society in trying to adjust itself to this new order of things began to take a distinctly new tone and colour was the era of the Reforming loung Bengal The various plentiful but inferior literature produced during these years in which new experiments were tried new yours of thought opened a new public and a new order of writers created prepared the way for the great flood tide which began with 1858 From the latter date we

(iv) Revolution brilliant

have a third epoch of great fertility brilliant achievement and high promise during which all the older

ideas of life and literature were being revolutionised and transmuted into things better suited to the needs of the new ern. The Laterary Young Bengal came to take the lead.

Our enquiry in the following pages will be chiefly confined to the tracing of the origine to the well meant but scarcely fruitful activity of pioneer authors who range over a seemingly dull and barren period at the commencement of our literary history. We need not lament, how ever that at the beginning of our acquaintance we do

not see our literature at its best, that we are not introduced at once to a Homer We have, it is true, to plod wearily

Scope and method of the present enquiry through a mass of indifferent writings whose chaim, if any, seems to have long palled, before we come to a single good writer of importance, but it

It enables us to examine the is well that we should do so foundations more critically and get the parts of history into true proportion and connection We are apt to pass lightly over the early beginnings of literary history as a stage that we have outgrown and lay greater stress upon periods more engaging but no theory is more maccurate or insufficient than that which despises the historic estimate and bids us look only to the 'best' or the 'principal' things In an era of evolutionary philosophy, it would be idle to investigate any manifestation of the spirit of nature or of man apart from its origin and growth We can not despise the barbanan for the civilised man, as Hume perhaps would have done, for to the student of modern sociology, the barbarian becomes important in his organic relation to the civilised man, and the whole "social series," to quote a phrase of Mill's, must be studied step by step through the various stages of development No more can the historian of literature ignoie the iude unshaped fairage of writings which always piecedes the literature of a finer stuff, for the one can never be studied intelligently without the help of The literature, therefore, which is represented, the other in poetry and in piose, by the great names of Michael and Brukim, must be studied in the light of the no-literature that is represented by the lesser names of Carey and Mrtynnjay It is no waste of time to trace step by step the way in which we have laid the foundations of a national literature which, if not rich in present accomplishment, is radiant with the promise of the future



of undying military renown, was not directly productive of any fresh privilege to the English power, nor did it, in

Position of the English in Bengal in the middle of the 18th century

itself, affect the political destiny of the country Clive himself did not perhaps know what he had won, although later on his tendency to exaggerate the value of his services led

him to magnify his achievements, nor did the servants of the Company, at that time, attach much importance to this incident, still less were they aware of any definite act of conquest usually associated with this battle "The general idea" writes Luke Scrafton, who had intimate knowledge of the English affairs in 1757, "at this time entertained by the servants of the Company was that the battle of Plassey 1 did only restore us to the same situation we were in before the capture of Calcutta, the Subah was conceived to be as independent as ever, and the English returned into their commercial character "1 No fresh commercial privileges were asked of Mir Jaffar nor were any wanted by the Company who were content with the terms granted to them in 1716 2 As yet there was haidly any important acquisition of territory by the Company who, more mindful of their commercial interests than anything else, chose to seek umbrage under the shadow of the Mohammedan power, itself declining Even in 1765, Clive flattered himself that he had "revived the power of the Great Mughal,"3 and for a long time after Plassey,

<sup>1</sup> Luke Scrafton, Obscriations on Mr Vansittart's Nariative, p 2

Vansiture, A Nariative of the Transactions in Bengal, vol. 1, p. 24. The treaty with Mir Justin is given in Aichison, Collection of Treaties etc. Vol. I, p. 186, also Vereist, View of the Rise and Progress etc. of English Government of Bengal, p. 143-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Letter of the Governor and Select Committee to the Court Sep 30, 1765, quoted in Firminger, op cit, p viii

whatever territory the Company held it held not on terms of military conquest but as a grant from a superior Mohammedan power There was no donht, a fiction involved in all these proceedings-a masquerade as Clive chose to describe it-yet the English at this time held ground in Bengal chiefly as trader and secondarily as revenue-collector under the Mogul Emperor term 'British Empire in India obtained currency from its first bold use in 1772 by Warren Hastings, who for the first time disclosed a deeper sense of the respon sibilities of ompire but the possession of the sovereign rights by the Nawab was still recognised and the long debate 1 vehemently carried on in the Court and on the Council Board on the question of sovereignty in Bengal would go to show how little the English trading company at this time was conscious of any conquest of the country by its military power and how greatly it was conscious of the instability of its own footing

But though Plassey cannot be directly credited to have brought into being the British empire in Bengal yet the great empire of the Mogul and its subahdar ship in Bengal were gradually breaking down. The period between 1757 and 1765 witnessed also the down fall of the French commercial sottlements which left Bengal

Commerci lism as a dominating factor in the Company's policy

open to the English In spite of these and other opportunities it took nearly half a century however, for the British rule to establish

itself firmly in Bengal. One of the chief reasons for this was that during these years commercialism was the dominating factor in the policy of the Directors of the Company and it was by slow degrees that they departed from their original commercial position. About

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me of Clive's second mission, no doubt, a schism the tall u the Court of Directors which heralded a aloseimental change in the character of the Company fund; party was for trade alone, the other supported Clive One s proposal to accept the Dewani and thus incur the in housibility of government In 1761, the Court wrote lespo agents in India, declaring that trade was to be to its ined with "waifare, fortification, military prudence, compolitical government "1 But this military precaution and urged chiefly for the protection of trade and, although was reak-up of the Mohammedan rule was beginning to offer the 1 opportunities to the trader to become a soldier and a vastacian, the Court always insisted upon an attitude polision-intervention and peremptorily disapproved, on more of 11 one occasion, the intention of its agents for territorial than isition when such a step did not also extend their acque and profits 2

sale It was by slow degrees, therefore, that the company of ulating shop-keepers turned into earnest empire-builders

calc
w and gradual
usition of power

Slo acqu Gradually they began to acquire zemindary lights, monopolise revenue, assume civil control, and step by step exclude the Mohammedan

vennment by destroying its financial and military Goremacy This long process of gradually exhausting surl appropriating the functions of the existing governancist, which, however, meant, as it did, half a century of mesery to the people, first began with the grant of the militricts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong in 1760 dise necessities of revenue administration compelled the Thmpany to build up a system of internal government Cc. Quoted in F. P. Robinson, The Trade of the East India Company,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Esp Letter to Bengal, March 16, 1768, quoted in Auber, Rise and p bgress etc vol 11, p 185

and consolidate its military power, but it was not till the grant of the Dewani in 1765 that it began to obtain a complete control over finance over the administration of

Acces ion to the

exil justice and over the entire military defence of the country The accession to the Dewant which however was declined by the Directors

on a former occasion imposed upon the British traders the duties of administration. They began to exercise every prerogative of the sovereign save that of criminal justice. But even then though real masters of the country they preferred to wear the mask of double government. By this device to all the abuses of the ancient system of government were superadded all the evils of a new

State of Bengal under the Double Govern ment. system of divided authority. The people grew uncertain as to where his obedience was due? The Nawah though theoretically, left in his full

glory as subahdar was in the language of Clive "a shadow and a name" and was deprived of every independent military and financial support of his executive. The Hon'ble Company, on the other band though actual sovereigns pretended to be nothing more than mero passive receivers of profits and rovennes, and the shadow of the Nawah was a convenient covering for all their acts of exaction and oppression. The country was placed under extensive misrule. The individual British adventurer in the service of the Company brought up since the days of Clive in the tradition of aggression dethronoment, spohation and extortion considered high banded proceedings as his time-hononied privilege grown ent of the anomalous way in which the British power came into being. These

Field Regulations of the Bengal Code Introd. p. 4. Verelat, op cit. App p. 122. servants of the Company, abroad with a nominal salary, were coming home laden with such colossal fortune, often acquired with no clean hand, that the 'Indian Nabob' became a scandalously proverbial term. Every vice which is the offspring of unlimited authority and insatiable availee, flourished unchecked. The papers relating to the conduct of the Company's servants and their underlings on the whole question of internal trade, of receiving presents, The conduct of the and other corrupt and pernicious Company's servants.

The conduct of the papers relating to the conduct of the conduct of the and other corrupt and pernicious practices, remain as an indelible blot in the early records of the Company's history.

It is not easy to imagine today what suffering this meant to the country. The anaichical state in which the provinces were placed not only contributed powerfully to

What it meant to dissolved the government of the country so fai as the protection of the people was concerned. The truculent Mohammedan or the Mahratta was, in his day, a tyrant from fitful caprice, from lax police and unchecked violence. But the cold calculating Anglo-Indian was a tyrant from prescience, and his tyranny, with his superior shrewdness and power of organisation, was a system in itself, which extending, as it did, to every village market and every manufacturer's loom, touched the trades, the occupations, and the lives of the people very closely <sup>2</sup> His commercial cupidity, under

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Director's Letter, dated Feb 8, 1764 (quoted in the Second Report of the Select Committee, 1772), Clive's Letter to the Directors, dated Sep 30, 1765 (Third Rep 1773, App pp 391-98, Mīr Kūsim's Letter, dated March 26, 1762, also ibid, dated May, 1762, Hastings' Letters to the Governor, dated May 13 and 26, 1762, ibid, dated April 25, 1762, Vansittart, op cit 11 pp 80 81, 111 74, 111 381, Verelst, op cit p 8 and p 46 et seq, Account of Gray, Resident at Maldah, quoted in Verelst, p 49, Bolt, Considerations etc., p 191 194, Mill, History, Bk iv pp 327 338, also p 392 et seq, Seir Mutaqherin 111 sec xiv esp p 201 et seq

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vansittart's Lotter to the Proprietors of India Stock, 1767, pp 88, 89, 93, quoted in Mill, op cit in p 431 footnote

a system of monopoly and coercion deprived the country of those sources of wealth of 'those rights of free produc tion and free barter which they had enjoyed under good and bad government alike. '1 The consequences were too evidently exemplified in the ruin of the entire inland trade and manufacture in the decline of agriculture under oppressive systems of land-settlements in the diminution of the specie, and in the general distress of the poor. The reputation of the English was so bad in Bengal that no sooner did a Enropean come into one of the villages than all the shops were immediately looked up and all the people for their own safety ran away 3 ' The sources of tyranny and oppression 'said Clive in his memorable letter to the Directors which have been opened by the European agents acting under the authority of the Company a servants and the numberless black agents and anb-agents acting also under them will I fear, be a lasting reproach to the English name in this country's the Select Committee express themselves bound to lay upon to the view of the Directors a series of transactions too notorinusly known to be suppressed and too affecting to their interest, to the character and to the existence of the Company in Bengal to escape unnoticed and nucensured transactions which seem to demonstrate that every spring of their government was ameared with corruption that principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the unbounded lust of unmersted wealth '4 Even

R. O Dutt, Economic Hustory p. 27 and pp. 30-81

Memoirs of a Gentleman who resided for several years in the East Indies, quoted in Robinson, op. cst., p. 70.

Oll es Letter to the Directors, dated Bep. 20th 1765 (Third Report, App. p. 391 et. seq )

Third Report 1772, App No 80,

Hastings<sup>1</sup> declared as early as 1762 that "the country people are habituated to entertain the most unfavourable notion of our government" and Verelst <sup>2</sup> asked in 1772 "How could we make the sordid interests of the trader consistent with that unbiased integrity which must reconcile the natives to a new dominion?" Nothing would be a more apt and incising description of the miserable state of the country than the celebrated simile of the author of the Serr Mutagherin<sup>3</sup> in which he compares it to the predicament of an untenanted house infested by robbers but having no master to protect it

The Anglo-Indian society, itself degraded, made light of such unrighteous proceedings and the private morals of

The private morals of the Company's servants no better than their public conduct the Company's servants were no better than their public conduct Hastings and Sir Philip Francis lived in open adultery, and extravagant rumours

were affoat with respect to the latter's card-winnings. The morals of the majority of the Company's servants are truthfully, if grossly, portrayed in the weekly Hicky's Gazette 4, published a hundred years ago, and it is well-known that this notorious paper, itself conducted by one of "the most objectionable rowdy that ever landed in Calcutta," was ruined by incurring Hastings' displeasure for making public the strictly private arrangement by which the wife of the German adverturer and portrait-painter had become the wife of the great Governor-General Sunday was not only given up to horse-racing, card-gambling, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hasting's Letter, dated Ap 25, 1762 quoted in R C Dutt, op cit, p 22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Verelst, op cit, p 62

<sup>\*</sup> Scir Mutagherin, in 185

<sup>4</sup> Busteed, Echoes from Old Calcutta 1888, gives many specimens, see p 171 et seq (ch vii), see also pp 109 170 on the social life of the

masquerades but 'Sunday afternoons" we are told as well as the early morning before the sun was too high in the heavens, were frequently taken advantage of to get rid of the aconmulated evil passions roused between gentlemen who might be seen commody enough furnished with swords and pistols wending their way in palanquins towards Tolly a Nullah as it enters the Hooghly to settle their little differences after the manner of Hastings and Francis and they not unfrequently returned with a pistol bullet or a sword thrust as a memeuto of their onting and a remembrance of the region of Kidderpore.

It cannot be denied however that the Company's

Directors were trying their best to

The administrative policy of the Company's go on much

put down this state of things and were consistently condemning in an equivocal terms the conduct and

character of their servants yet the policy of the Company's government itself was a faithful reflection of its narrow commercial views. In order to enhance the value of his services Clive had propagated the permissions belief that India overflowed with nobes and the servants of the Company kept up this tradition by furnishing perpetually flattering accounts of their affairs in India. Notwith standing a knowledge of the pecuniary embarrasements of the Company the inadequacy of the revenues and the exhaustion of the treasury the Directors were compelled, by the glorious promises so confidently made of unbounded

In 1793, was published a book entitled "Thoughts on Duelling" by a writer in th Hon'bl Company a Service with a view to secretism its origin and effect on society (Seton Karr Selection from Gelectia Gartt II, 684) See also Good Old Days J How'bls John Company ch. xrill and xrx. On the profession I Senday see the Lester of th Directors (1798) and the proclamation of the G G Nov 9 1"95, quoted p crt ii p 30-37

Mill op. cst iii. 43... Mill records that "the inflated conceptions of the nation at large multiplied the purchasers of India stock t and it roses as high as 263 per cent.

treasures from India, to take to the desperate course of declaring from time to time impossible dividends, which had to be kept up by corrupt means and severe exactions but which involved the affairs of the Company in further financial difficulties This had the effect of subordinating the Court of Proprietors more and more to the influence of the stock-brokers The extraordinary disclosure of misgovernment, the difficiency of the Company's funds, its actual state of indebtedness, and the violent allegations of conjupt conduct which the Directors and their agents mutually threw upon one another raised some ferment in England and ultimately led to legislative interference From 1774, the affairs of the Company frequently received the attentions of the Parliament, and the efforts of Sir Philip Francis succeeded in carrying the judgment of the Company's internal administration from the Court of the Directors to the bar of public opinion in England But this intervention of the Parliament was due more to partisan animosity than to "any statesman-like desire to provide India with a better form of government" From Cornwallis's time, however, the administration of India was placed not, as hitherto had been done, in the hands of one of the Company's servants on the ground of local experience but in those of an English nobleman of elevated rank, unfettered by all local ties must be admitted that there was haidly existing any definite rule of administration except that which descended to it from its commercial institutions, nor any rule of policy but that which the accident of the day supplied 1 The administration yet remained to be organised and the political power to be consolidated Verelst,2 at the end of 1769, had already called attention to the feebleness and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marshman, History of India, vol, 11 p 4

<sup>=</sup> Verelst, op cit App p 124

want of system in the government at Fort William and the case of llastings rerains braners revealed by the statepapers is a memorable testimony in the weakness of the central government, so strongly denunneed by the anthor of the Seir Unlagherin 1 The beginning of the ninoteenth century saw a disappearance of some of these evils no doubt, yet in other respects it witnessed no material improvement The movitable conviction referred to by Francis as a state ni 'delirium' which took hold of almost overy English official in those days was that the Dewlint lands were an mexhaustible estate for the profits of the Company and that every conceivable method should be brought to bear upon the object of making India pay this was declared in the official language as keeping up the revenue" Effi ciency of government was judged by the standard of not gain, 'by the coarse and ready method of calculating in mes and gundas, the mereast and decrease of the revenue ! If we study the schemes of reform forms lated from time to time we find that they were framed not so much in the interest of the people as in the interest of the commercial rulers of Bengal to which everything else was saemficed

Indeed the Hor'ble Company at linne and in India
liad reached that depth of opposition
Its exposition to light and freedom which instilles even Burkn's extremest passages.

Ignorance was the talisman on which their power over the people and the safety of their possessions in India were supposed to depend and the dispel this popular ignorance by diffusing kinwledge and education by introducing missionaries and schoolmasters by permitting freedom of public criticism was fantastically considered

abuses of political government. Grasping and moreonary spirit made the so-called guardians of the people maccessible to the plainest dictates of reason justice and policy and infused in them a total contempt for public welfare. The ovils of an ahen rulo were aggravated by a deep ignorance of the manners and customs of the people and by a singular want of identifica

and by a singular want of identification with their interests—two articles which as Ghulam Hisain rightly com

ment 1 are the principles of all union and attachment, of all regulation and settlement between the governors and the governed

During these years the Mohammedan government itself was coming to an inglorious end. The situation of Mir Jā far was deplerable from the

Dissolution of the Mohammodan govern ment; its effect.

first Old indolent, voluptuons en dowed with many incurable vices, he made a very poor figure head and

with an exhausted treasury on the one hand and wast engagements to discharge on the other he was driven to severest exactions. While his emploies made him detestable negligence disorder and weakness of his government exposed him to contempt. Mir Kisim was a more capable monarch and Vansittart? pays a well-deserved tribute to his administration. Careful as he was of giving offence to the English he could not belp coming into conflict with them for as Vansittart says, scarce a day passed but occasion was taken from the most

trifling pretences to trample on his Government to sease his officers and to insult them with threats and invectives." The executive power and control over criminal justice were still left in the hands of the Nawab whose soverage

> Beir Mutaqherin ili 161 Vansittart op. cit ili, 381

authority was acknowledged, yet the Mohammedan government, under the dual system, had too much reason to complain of their want of influence in the country which was "torn to pieces by a set of rase ils, who in Calcutta walked in rags, but when they were sent out on gomastahslaps, loided it over the country, imprisoning the roots and merchants, and writing and talking in the most insolent and domineering manner to the fondars and officers "1 And this was not confined to a particular spot. "It would amaze you," writes Mr Senior, Chief at Kasimbazar, "the number of complaints that daily come before me of the extravagancies committed by our agents and gomastalis all over the country"2 Although the Company had now become actually possessed of more than one half of the Nawab's revenue, yet the latter was continually harrassed by oppressive exactions and became "no more than a banker for the Company's servants who could draw upon him [meaning presents] as often and to as great an amount as they pleased"3 Naturally the Nawab had to fall back upon the old method of raising from the zemindars what he had himself to render to his new masters, and the tradition of the royal oppression of zemindars, handed down from the days of Murshid Kulī Khān, of which vivid pictures will be found in the pages of the Riazoo-s-Salatin on the Seir Mutagherin, was nevived in the last days of the Mohammedan government in Bengal The situation is vividly, if too sweepingly, narrated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Letter of Mr Gray, President at Muldah, dated January, 1764, quoted in Verelst, op cit in p 49, see also the Nawab's Letter, quoted in Vansitart, op cit in 381

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Letter of Mr Senior, Chief at Kasımbazaı, quoted in Verelst, op cit p 49

Chive's speech, dated March 30, 1772, in Almon's Debates, X 14, see also Mill, op cit in 354 et seq. In 1767, Lord Chive's own income was calculated to be at least £96,000

thus by Verelst The violence of Meer Carsum in neen mulating treasure and the relaxation of Government in the hauds of Meer Juffler equally contributed to confound all order and by removing every idea of right, sanctified in some sort the depredations of the hungry collectors. The feeble restraint of fear produced little effect while the increasing necessities of a master afforded at least a protonce of an nucontrolled exercise of power throughout every department. Inferior officers employed in the collections were permitted to establish a thousand modes of taxation Fines were levied at pleasure without regard to justice and while each felt in his turn the iron rod of oppression lie redoubled these extortions on all beceath him. The war in which Meer Jaffler was engaged against foreign enemies the struggles of Meer Casam which ended with his distruction, and the usurpations of foreign traders completed the scene of universal confusion

Thus the zemindars unable to make any headway against the exerbitant demand and oppression of the Nawib out the one hand and of the Company's official lost in obscurity. Those who survived came out of the struggle impoverished and degraded. These hereditary landlords had held the soil from very ancient times with quasi feudal powers and virtually ruled the people within their own estates. Inspite of the severe strictures of Ghulam Hussin's that the zemindars are at all times and nail ages a race incorrigible it can be easily shown that the ancient zemindars as a class did much for the good

administered justice, and punished orimes—they eucouraged

Vereit, op. cit. p 63

Serr Hunghrin III p. 204 et 207

of the country They maintained order settled disputes

learning and rewarded prety, they fostered arts and learning and were patrons of literature. But the iron hand of the new system brought ruin upon this hereditary aristocracy. The total change, in the management of the revenue, had brought in an innovation by which property, along with its administration, not only changed hands but was placed on a new foundation, and thus deeply affected

Effects of the new system of land settle ments the condition, individually as well as collectively, of the people of Bengal The system, introduced in the ceded districts, ignored the customary

zemindais and sold their estates by the ughts of The result public auction for increasing the revenue was most lamentable. The lands were let out for a short term of three years to the highest bidder at the auction-"Men without fortune or character" we are told "became bidders at the sale and while some of the former farmers, unwilling to relinquish their habitations, exceeded perhaps the real value in their offers, those who had nothing to lose advanced yet further, wishing at all events to obtain an immediate possession Thus numberless harpies were let loose to plunder whom the spoil of a miserable people enabled to complete the first year's payment The renters under so precarious a tenure could not venture to encourage inferior farmers by advancing money, which is seldom repaid within three years, and without the advance, even the implements of husbandiv were wanting to cultivate the lands "1 Even the appointment of supravisors in 1769 in the appropriate districts, and the two councils, one at Muishidabad and the other at Patna, did not work any improvement The Committee of the House of Commons could not help remarking "Seven years had elapsed from the acquisition of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Verelst, op cit pp 70 71

Dawan, without the government deeming itself competent to remedy the defects. The reports of the supravisors themselves consisting mostly of antiquarian or statistical essays, represent the government as having attained the last stage of uppressiveness and barbonism.

It is needless to comment on the condition of the ryot and the cultivator under this system

Condition of the ryot and the cultivator in the cultivator and recognition infinite varieties prevailed

as Hunter points out, in the administration of the separate districts. Some districts were under the immediate jurisdiction of the subshifts while in others the hereditary zemindar preserved the appearance of power although the jealousy of the subshifts and an increased taxation left to him little more than a nominal authority. The country laboured under the disorders of unbounded despotism. To add to this a great national disaster occurred in the terrible famine of 1709.70 which cut off ten to twelve millions of human beings. Even before 1709 high prices had given indication of an approaching famine but the tax was collected as ingrouply as ever?

The Great Famine of The suffering of the people was heightened so much by the acts of

the Company's agents and sub-agents that the Court of Directors indignantly condemned their method of profitting by nuiversal distress <sup>5</sup> Hastings writing

Fifth Report, p. 4. at req. Also see Surth Report of 1782, App. 1, Colabrooke S ppiement to the Digest of Bengal Reput it s. pp. 174-190. Hunter Am. 1 of Rural Bengal p. 20-21, also pp. 399-404

Firminger op cit p. oxclx See also Letter to Bengal dated August 28, 1771, quoted in Auber p cit pp. 354-5. It is difficult to say how far the famine was due to an intentional cornering of the grain or similar unacruptions commercial transactions; but this was the widely prevalent complaint and Stavorinus (vol I p 853) ascribes the famine partly to the "monopoly which the English had made of the rice.

in 1772, sets down the loss of population "at least of one-third of the inhabitants of the province", and even twenty years later, Cornwallis officially described one-third of Bengal left as a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts. The English knew very little about the country at that time and did less for its inhabitants. Even state-charity was grudged and land-tax was as rigorous as ever Hastings points out in 1772 that "notwithstanding the loss of at least one-third of the inhabitants of the province, and the consequent decrease of the cultivation, the nett collections of the year 1771 exceeded even those of 1768". In 1771, one-third of the cultivable land was

Its effects on the landlord and the tenant returned in the public accounts as "deserted" in 1776, the entries in this column exceeded to one-half of

the whole district, four acres lying waste to every seven. But the Company increased its demands from less than £100,000 sterling in 1772 to close on £112,000 in 1776. One-third of the generation of peasants had been swept away and a whole generation of once rich families had been reduced to indigence. The revenue-farmers who had been unable to realise the tax were stripped of their office, shorn of their lands, and thrown ultimately into prison. The zemindars who had lither to lived like semi-independent chiefs, fared worse 2 and Sir William Hunter rightly remarks that "from the year 1770, the ruin of the two-thirds of the old aristocracy of Lower Bengal dates."

The great Famine also deeply affected the relation of the tenant to the landloid and of the landlords to one another Nearly one-third of Bengal fell out of tillage

<sup>1</sup> Hunter, op cit p 63 64

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hunter (op cit p 56 ff) cites the well known cases of the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Raja of Nadia, and Ram Banwari of Rajshahi

and the scarcity of the cultivators at a time when there was more land than men to till it gave the ryot the advantage over the zemindar who was now compelled to count the present and make him tempting offers. This not only led to the growth of the two classes of resident and non resident ryots and to a constant friction between them but it also added to the general misery by fostering violent feeds and quarrels among landed proprietors who had eagerly begun to hid against one another for the husbandman. These armed feede between the landlords very greatly disturbed the repose of the districts, and it is no wonder that the zemindars are described in contemporary records as 'continual disturbers of the peace of the province'

From the time of this Famine also robbery and dacoity became disastrously prevalent. Large tracts of land around every village grew into thick jungles which fostered not only wild beasts

Prevalence of robbery and dacedry
but gave umbrage to terrible gangs of robbers
Besides the numerous and

prosperous classes like the things who practiced robbery as a hereditary calling and the bands of cashered soldiers who turned vagrants there were thousands of people who were driven by destitution to the desperate course of plundering, and from 1771 the suppression of these lawless sects who sometimes roved about the country in armies many thousands strong 3 was a matter of serious consideration to the Council Organised outrages took place within an ear-shot from the seat of government. Long records how

Hunter op. cst., pp. 80-81 p 85.

See a graphic abcount of the effects of decoity in the Regulation of 1772 (85th Reg.), quoted in Colchrooks's Supplement to the Degest p 1 13. Also see Hunter op. oil pp. 60 cl. seq

in 1780 a very terrible case of robbery, accompanied by incendiarism and violence, occurred in Insecurity of life Calcutta in which about 15,000 houses were burnt down and nearly 200 people were killed <sup>1</sup> Dacorty and robbery, with all its incidental terrors, prevailed in Bengal for more than three quarters of a century, <sup>2</sup> and left the life and property of the people absolutely insecure

The ancient police system, whether it consisted of the system of the village watchman, or of the nugdees, or of the thānādārs, as we find in the Bengal of 1760, was in a disorganised state when the English came into power, and was quite insufficient for the preservation of the Police system

The Police system

quite insufficient for the preservation of the peace or for the apprehension of the criminals not only on the part of the petty zemindars, as the early administrators of Bengal tell us, but also on the part of these regularly constituted keepers of the public peace <sup>3</sup> To meet the disorders of the country, the Faujdārī system was established in 1774 but it is well-known

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Long, Calcutta in Olden Time, p 37 See also Busteed, op cit p 157, Good Old Days, ch xviii, Seton-Karr, op cit ii 213 14, 233, Forrest, Selections from State Papers, Warren Hastings, ii 289

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kaye (Administration of the East India Company, III ii and iii) gives an account of Thuggee and Dacoity in later years. Even as late as 1810, we find Lord Minto (Minute, dated Nov 24, 1810) writing, "A monstrous and disorganised state of society existed under the eye of the supreme British authorities and almost at the very seat of the Government. The people are perishing almost in our sight every week's delay is a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of very populous countries"

The greater zemindars had always a large number of troops at their disposal and sometimes the village watchman was enrolled on the establishment of the zemindars. They were employed not only in their original capacity but also in the collection of the revenue. Extensive duties similarly were expected from the Faujdar.

how vigorously the system was enticised by the opposition members of the Conocil and condemned as oppressive by the author of the Sear Matagherm. It was candidly admitted by the Resolution of April 6 1786 that the establishmont of fanjidars and thänsdars "has by experience been found not to produce the good effects intended by the iostitution". On the old division of authority between the Naxim and the Dewan the executive power including criminal administration was allotted to the Nazim while the Dewan possess ed the evril jurisdiction. The establis ment of two courts of justice the Dewania and the Fanjidari Adallat which were controlled by the superior Sadar Dewāni and Nizāmat Adallate at the Presidency of Fort.

The system of criminal and civil justice William was made by the Regulations of the Committee of Circuit chiefly on the basis on this old distinction. One of the effects of the Regulations referred to was to transfer the Courts of Appeal from Murshidabad to Calcutta and to give the Collector the right to preside over local civil courts and keep vigilance over the local criminal courts wet the crimi nal jurisdiction of the Nawab was not taken away nor were miscarriages of instice and long felt abuses removed by these Regulations The establishment for the Mayor a Court, of the Supreme Court in Calcutta to which I makes was so stoutly opposed brought again in its train a number of notorious cyils and one need hardly recall Macaulay's account of the high handed proceedings of this Court. It was not until 1700 that the superintendence of criminal justice throughout the proxince was accepted by the English 5 and indicial administration was not placed

Seir II (agherin, Hl. p. 170-179 Seo Ffik Report, pp. 43 et neq Colebrooke p. cit. 1 141 also quoted and discussed in Firminger ep cit. pp. cexxi t neq

Cornwallia a Minute Documber 3, 1790; slso Regulation V and IX of 1793 Also Fifth Report, pp. 29-42; Seton Karr Cornwall s pp. 88-94.

upon a sound footing until mans years elapsed. Even in 1793, the preamble to the several Regulations of that year show that there must have been much confusion, abuse of justice, delay in procedure, and uncertainty of jurisdiction in civil and criminal courts.

The reforms of Cornwallis were not only in the right direction in these respects but they also strick a note of sympathy with the poor suffering rvot. But the rum of the zemindars, begun by Mir Kasım and histened by the yara settlement, was finally completed by Reforms of 179 t the celebrated measure of 1793. which, though it did ciedit to the benevolent intentions of Coinwalls proved at least for the time being disastrons to many an ancient aristocratic family of Bengal. It would be out of place to discuss here this measure in all its bearings,1 but it must be admitted that it was not only insufficient in affording protection to the rvot against the tack-renting power of the zemindar but it also became the means of unsettling many old zemindaries It created a class of landlords destribte for the most part of public spirit and higher culture. The principle of the permanence of assessment, co operating with splendid fertility of the Gauges valler, afforded, no doubt, a happy prospect of peaceful multiplication of the people and spread of civilisation, yet the wealthy ancient aristocracy, which for a long time constituted the main support of society and the great pation of arts and literature, was slowly breaking down under the stringent rules which put up their large estates to public auction at the mercy of the highest bidder The class of up-start remindais who stepped into their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See on this question, Field, op cit, Harrington's Analysis, Seton-Karr, Cornwallis, ch 11, Fifth Report, p 12 et seq, Mill, op cit bk. vi ch 56, R C Dutt, op. cit. ch v, etc.

place could not be expected to possess the same inherited tradition of culture and refinement as marked the ancient aristocracy of the land. Side by side with these, there was created another class of landlords by the very measure itself for under the new law the mere collector of the revenue was in many cases, invested with every proprietory right in the land.

Before passing from this cursory account of the dissolution of the Mohammedan government and the ruiu of the zemindars, it would not be out of place to refer to the depraved moral influence of the Moral depravity of Mohammedan court upon the courts of the period.

the noblemen and also upon the society in general. The vivid pages of the Seir Mataghena has already made familiar to us the depth of luxury debauchery and moral depravity of the period and Gholam Husaiu in one place offers a few hitter remarks on the ethicality of Minrish place offers a few hitter remarks on the ethicality of Minrish chabad ' ' It must be observed he says that in those days Moorshoodabad were very much the appearance of one of Loth's towns and it is still pretty much the same to-day

Nay the wealthy and powerful having set apart sums of money for these sorts of amours used to show the way and to entrap and seduce the unwary the poor and the feeble and as the proverb says—zo is the king so becomes his people—these amours got into fashiou. It is no wonder therefore that this atmosphere of luxnry and moral degeneration did not fail to vitiate the general moral tone of society especially of the upper classes. Public opinion was so low that very many forms of shameless vice often accompanied by cruelty and violence attracted little condemnation and received less punishment. It reminds one of the days of Charles II and his courtiers. It

is needless to recapitulate details but it may be noted that hardly any of the worthes of this period, whether Hindu or Musalman, could ever show, both in their public and private life, a perfectly clean record. One can easily understand from this the degenerate tone in the writings of the period, which sprang up chiefly round the courts of these rajas or zemindais who were the dispensers of the daily bread of the poets. Even the work of the devont Rām-prasād or of the illiterate Kabiwalas was not entirely free from this almost universal taint.

Next to the zemindars, came the class of learned Biāhmans, the other important factor of the social fabric, who suffered no less from these political and social changes. Even in this period of anarchy and oppression, the priestly class, however fallen or cried down in modern times, was recognised as the head of society, as the spiritual guide and enlightener of the race. Whatever damaging influence their much-too-decried exclusiveness might have produced, it cannot be denied that as a class they hardly ever fell below this high expectation. The occupation of the Biāhmans, although on the decline, had not yet lost

The humiliation of the Bralimans

its ancient lustre and dignity and there were men among them still who were, as of yore, capable of fear-

less acts of self-sacrifice for the good of the community. The Brāhmans were not only the educators of the nation but also its lawgivers, its judges, and at times its acknowledged head and dictator in social matters. Although literature was not their profession, their sphere of usefulness consisted in their interest in mental and spiritual culture. But a change of the deepest kind was coming over the spirit of this ancient and honoured class. After the political storm of the century had blown over, the Brāhmans found themselves utterly neglected, nay, humiliated and

runed They had not only lost the patronage at court and of the great landed aristocracy who always revered their learning and piety but they also found themselves losing together with their ancient prestigs the free charitable gifts of landed property to which they mainly looked up for their support. A regulation was passed in 1793 for enquiry into the validity of various existing Lakkera, grants and as a direct result of this many of these presum d charitable grants were cancelled This dealt a severe plow to the poor Brahmans who thus shorn of their land and their glory became more and more dependent than ever for their living on the gifts of the lower classes to whose tastes and superstitions they were now compelled to pander. The most enlighten ed among them no doubt, remained isolated or retired into obscurity in moody silence but the majority of them dal everything in their power to please the mob who were now almost their only enstomers. With the fall of the Brühmans however there was no doubt the rise of the powerful middle class but the ruin of this bereditary intellectual class was a loss in itself. The are was laid at the root of ancient learning and ancient culture the infinence which produced the sublime in Hindu civilisa tion vanished the infinence which produced the superstitions and the ridionlous in it increased Such was the state of knowledge and culture at the beginning of the last century that Jayanarayan Tarkapanchanan in his preface to the Sarvadarsana Samgraha had to lament that the pundits of his time nover cared to read more than four books in their lifetime and just before the foundation of Calcutta Sansont College such was the ignorance of the Bengali pundits that none of them could enlighten Sir William Joues on the subject of ancient Sanscrit drama

This decline of the society and the intellect of Bengal

Inherent causes of social decline, the Caste system

is almost synchronous with and, no doubt, was facilitated by the decay of Mohammedan rule and the prevalence of the Company's misrule,

but the process, slow enough to be almost imperceptable, was, however, not due to this circumstance alone political and social causes no doubt historical the decadence already ifoot but it would be lirely and imphilosophical to attribute everything to such extraneous There was something wrong in the social structure itself to account for this decidence. A little reflection will show that the Hindu society entired within itself the germs of its own deery. However benchmal the institution of easte might have been to the ancient society, of which it formed the universal and natural basis, it cannot be doubted that its exclusiveness, in course of time, gave use to a monopoly, which, like the monopoly of the mediaeval monks of Europe, proved mynrious to intellectual progress beyond a certain stage. Within the small privileged hereditary class to which the spread of knowledge was confined, the arts and sciences, no doubt, were carried to a pitch of perfection, but competition, thus artificially limited, naturally gave no scope to fivourable variations in intellectual development. The intellectual capacity of the individual or the class was increased at the cost of general ignorance and inferiority of the race The system made life easy and smooth and comparatively free from that struggle and unrest which is the ineverable condition of all progress This state of things, leading as it did to decadence, could not continue long, and under the influence of Mohammedanism and its doctime of equality, a fresh impetus was given to progress by relaxing the restrictions of the caste system From about the beginning

of the 16th century we have a accession of religious and social reformers Rāmiloands Kahīr Niinal, and Chaitanya all of whom protested against caste

Mohammed n and nod preached oniversal brotherhood

It was this impolse which gave an early

impetus to the vernacular literatores of India for these reformers collect the learned Saoscritists preached to the people in the language of the people and their tenchings were embodied in voluminous works which enriched the vernacular literatores. But although the rigory of the caste system was for a time overcome and a licality feeling for equality was abroad the cuils of the time honoured institution firmly rooted through centuries into the social fabric could not be eradicated in a day. They continued to do their work and hastecod the decadence which, to spite of the attempts of these religious reformers had become inevitable and the acti-caste influence of the British contact and of European literature only intensified the change already set on foot by the

British ind ence on Although at this entited time the Rast Iodia Company to England and in India

sunk to the lowest depth of philisticism apprehended the spread of Loowledge nod western ideas fatal to the British rule jet it was fortunate that there were self sacrificing missionaries and school masters ready for the work and a few far-sighted state smee who convintistanding the narrow policy of the government at home thought it god like bounty to bestow expansion of intellect. The empire in India had been moreover founded at a time when the tido was turning when Europe was so the throes of a great Revolution which coosidered politically socially and intellectually is one of the greatest so modern history. The wave of liberahsm which was to pass through Europe.

intelligible With the fall of the Brahmans and general

Religious life at the beginning of the 19th century

decadence of social and intellectual life in the country there was also a partial decadence of the religious 'ife and ideals of the people, imperceptibly

making its headway from the Mohammedan times does not concern us bere as to how much of this was due to decadent Buddhism or decadent Bai nabism or bow far the aboriginal ethnical element in Lower Bengal reacted upon it. The mass of superstitions had always existed and still everywhere exists but from this time nawards there was a deliberate rejection of the spiritual side of the old faith and a corresponding identification with the semi aboriginal superstitions of the masses. Public opinion on religious matters was low although the religiosity of the people cannot be denied and the undonbted belief in the absolving efficacy of superstitions rites calmed the imagina tion and allayed the terrors of conscience. Empty rituals deprayed practices and even hornd ceremonies like book awinging homan sacrifice, and infanticide partially justify the unsparing abase of our religion by the musicinaries

decayed but not dead

But what the missionaries could not perceive in their proselytimog zeal was that the religious life of the

Hindu had never been quite extinct. There had been decay since the Mohammedan rule aggravated by various complex causes but upt death there had been an increase of feebleness but not absolute manution. An age which produced the Gangabhaktt-tarangunt Harilly or the devotional songs of Ram practid could not indeed be said to be devoid of religious life. The

currents

The four di ergent devotional ferrons of Sri Chartanya the intellectual ideas of naivavik Ragbu

natha the ritualistic doctrines of smarts Raghunandan

and the mystic spiritualism of the fantric Kranananda forces which have divergent the four exercised great influence on Hindu society the 16th century—had never lost their domination even this era of decadence. The protective Hinduism and the political and social vicissitudes consequent upon Mohammedan rule had no doubt been injurious to religious progress, but in spite of this impediment religion had always influenced the social, moral, and in-From the earliest time tellectual progress of the nation down to the present day, religious stringgle and religious ievival have always played an important part in the history of the nation's intellectual progress. It is partly for this reason that notwithstanding four centuries of carnest preaching by Roman Catholics and two centuries of carnest preaching by Protestants, Christianity has made little impression upon the Hindus, especially amongst the upper Religious life was never dead but dormant. It is classes

Change of religious ideals in the 18th and the early 19th century

true that religious ideal have always changed from time to time and moulded itself to some extent to the necessities of the age, and this will

also be evident from a study of the various phases of the historic development of our religion. At this stage of decadence, it could not be expected to remain in an unalloyed state. It had gone through many convulsions and alterations in the previous age, and many empty dogmas and gross superstitions had naturally gathered around it. But, however much this state of religion appeared repulsive to the prejudiced eyes of the zealous missionaries or of the enthusiastic. "Young Bengal," who proud of the new light, picked up an inveterate hatred of everything old, still in its essence and on the doctrinal side, it was almost invulnerable. The reactions which have followed

Religious reactions of the 19th tury

in favour of what may be called rationalistic Hinduism and other religious movements in the 19th century bear witness to its inward strength as well as to the inherited spirituality of the

Hindu

It is obvious that under these political social and

These facts partly explain the literary barronness of the peri od between 1760 and 1800

intellectual conditions no literature worth the name could easily flourish. With the ruin of the zemindars and the degradation of the Brühmans who constituted respectively the aris-

tocracy of wealth and the anstocracy of intellect a process of disintegration had begun in the social fahric which ended in an absolute dissolution of all social solidarity took nearly half a century before there was a general subsidence of these effects and a new order of things could take the place of the old. With a reconstruction of art and ideal, there was indeed the hirth of a new world and a new literature but generally speak ing from the 18th century to the middle of the 19th, we have only rude nushaped writings interesting to the student, hnt no masterpiece acceptable to all, It was ementially a transitional stage and there can be no doubt that these vicisatudes of the 18th century and the monotonous material and intellectual development of the first half of the 19th robbed Bengalı literature of many an imaginative writer Calcutta had not yet settled down into a metropolis and with the dispersal of the Moham medan government and the Hindu zemindars there was no fixed intellectual centre which would have brought the advantages of social solidarity among those who still retained literary instancts and aspirations Bharatchandra died in 1760 and in a short time occurred The death of Bhūrat chandra in 1760 marks the decay of the older current in literature

also the deaths of Durgāprasād and Rām-prasād With these last great names, we are at the end of what remained of ancient Bengali literature During the continuance of the dual

system of government between '65 and '72, the older poets, one by one, passed away, and none remained who could for a time step into their vacant place. Between the death of Bhārat-chandra in 1760 and the first appear-

The interregnum till the emergence of the new literature was broken chiefly, if not wholly, by the Kabiwalas,

ance of Isvai Gupta in Sambādprabhākai of 1830, there came an
interiegnum of more than half a
century, during which there was no
man who had been strong enough to

seize the unclaimed sceptie. The only pretenders were the Kabiwalas, but they never rose to that level of artistic ment and sustained literary composition which would have enabled them to strike a commanding figure on the empty stage. Who would think of placing Haru Thakur or Ram

some of whom were men of undoubted powers Basu side by side with Bhāiat-chandia or Rām-prasād? These Kabiwalas left behind them few things of permanent literary value, for although

some of them were men of undoubted poetre power, they never cultivated literature for its own sake, but composed

Their place in literature not very high then songs chiefly to please then new patrons in society the upstart zemindais, the wealthy speculators, or the illiterate mass whose chief

amusement consisted of these songs, pinachalis, or saires. The Kabi literature, therefore, is one of a very composite character, and side by side with the higher flights, we have interspersed not a little amount of flat colloquial verbiage which no stretch of literary charity

would ever call poetic in the true sense of the term. The literary ideal was not as can be expected very high, and its tone not always commendable yet one thing most remarkable about these somes, which unto them in sharp contrast with the literature which Bharat-chandra set in fashion was its comparative freedom from the stamp of ornateness or crudite classicality as well as from the vitiated moral tone which defaces the writings of many a great poet of this period | Yet in spite of these and other ments none of the habiwalse had reached that standard of literary excellence which would have enabled them to emulate the more substantial writings of the older poets although they contributed some truly beautiful pieces to the literature of national songs | Fallen on cycl days their genius seems nover to have received its fullest score and besides keening our literature lack from absolute death during the period of interregnum their work seems to possess lustorically no other permanent value. They not

But they did their best, during this long period of barrenness, t keep it back from absolute death as a link keeping up the continuity of nur literary lusters and though by themselves affording an interesting field of study they belong through their literary filation and inherited

artistic tradition to the age preceding our era

By the beginning of the 19th century however the old order was chaoging yielding place to new A new hterature a new spirit, and a new order of society were gradually taking the place of the time honoured institutions which had held their swav over the country for centuries.

Effect of the rovolu tionary changes which the British occupation of Bengal brought about. We often find in literary history that with some great revolution political social no religious literature receives a fresh impotus We need hardly recall the example of the

French Revolution from which dates a period of literary activity which has culminated in the nich literary aftergrowths of modern Europe. But the popular opinion, long and actually entertained, that the Eritish occupation of Bengal by itself sufficiently accounted for and directly caused the disappearance of ancient literature as distinguished from modern, is a delusion which the revived study of the literature itself would, in a great measure, help to check and

The British 'conquest', as generally supposed, never swept off the old literature and replaced it with the new it merely helped a process of decidence in literature already afoot

correct However great and farreaching its effect was, the British 'conquest' no more swept away ancient Bengal and its literature and replaced it with something else than the Norman Conquest of England directly caused the disappearance of Anglo-

savon England and its literature Modern evolutionary theory hardly leaves any room for such absolute political or literary cataclysms, and a little consideration will show that the British occupation of Bengal, like the Norman one of England, only helped and turned to good a process of decadence in literature, which had independently begun, which was going on rapidly, and which, if the political revolution had not dealt a death-blow to the exhausted literature would have landed it independently in absolute barrenness and stagnation

In order to appreciate what effect British occupation of Bengal produced upon Bengali literature, we must realise in what state it actually had been when the new start was made. It was, as we have stated, a period of great confusion. The political and social disturbances, no doubt, as the apologist of Bengali literature often points out, were affecting men's minds, and the physical and mental fatigue consequent thereupon is responsible to a great extent for this lamented parenty of literary productions,

hnt if we look to the literature itself we shall see that a process of inherent decay and dissolution had already begun in it which indicated rapid decline, and which if no checked might have independently led to its nitimate extinction. A change of the deepest and widest kind was coming over the spirit of Bengali literature during the years when the political destiny of India was being decided in other fields. Int this change, such as it was meant no good augury to its future course.

In spite of occasional royal patronage as in the cases of Bidvapati or Kabi katkan the vertacellar hierature before the 18th century very seldom found shelter in the courts of the wealthy and it was never in any sense courtly hierature. From this period

What this process was and how it came about,

courts of the wealthy and a new world that of the courter and the was being formed The courts of Raju

however, it began to centre round the

State of Bengali literature on the evo of the 19th century

adventurer

Kṛṣṇachandra of Nadiyā and of Rājā Rāj ballabh of Dacca were notable not only for their luxury their splendour

and their intrignes, but also for their patronage of arts and literature. But this court-influence as it would be natural to expect in this age, was not an inmixed good. Poetry which had bitherto consisted of simple tales of village-life or of devotional poems of rare besoty and fervoir had now to appeal exclusively to the upper classes of society whose taste and temper it naturally reflected. As on the one hand it gained in refinement and splendour, so on the other it lost all its pristine simplicity, and was marked with a stamp of ornateness and erudite classicality which found favoir with these courts. What had been fervid and spontaneous became fantastio and elaborate and with these new poets, some of

whom were good scholars, intellect and fancy predominated over sentiment and passion, ingenuity took the place of feeling, and poetry lost its true accent. On the one hand, arose around the court of Krsnachandia the artificial school of Bhāiat-chandia, whose poetry, more fanciful than delicate, more exquisite than passionate, first turned the tide in favour of ornate and artificial standards of verse-

The existing schools of Bengali literature by their excesses gave unuistakable proof of decadence and foreshadowed the close of the literary age

making on the other hand, under the pationage of the lival court of Rājā Rāj-ballabh, flourished a more serious, though less poetical, group of writers who exhibit the same tendency to ornate diction and luxuriant style

and the same weakness for frigid concerts but whose profundity, allegorical fancy, didactic taste, and consequent monotony present a striking contrast to the more voluptuous and attractive school at Nadīyā Both these schools, by their excesses, marked the close of the literary age In spite of the exquisite quality of his phrase and his numbers, that exalt him to a place all his own, Bhārat-chandra was a far greater artist than a true poet. He was a sure and impeccable master of his own craft, yet we must confess here, as everywhere, a fall of the true poetic spirit, the neap of inspiration, the preference of what catches the eye to what touches the

The school at Nadiyā of which Bhārat-chan dra was the literary exponent

heart Bharat-chandra is not very often original yet when he imitates, he does not choose the best models but only tries to improve upon the

very second-rate works of later artificial Kāvya poets like Māgha aud Śrīharsa, or even worse things from a class of degenerate Mohammedan tales of dubrous taste and excellence Poetry is increasingly regarded as a means of the display of elaborate concerts till

at length unthing remains but artfulness and verbal ingglery. The consummate elegance of these writings is undnubted hut the poet seldum transports. Lifeless des emption pompone similes learned digressions-a style which cannot be summed up otherwise than by the term 'florid -these mark the makeshifts by which the lack of connine poetic emotion is sought to be made up. Pathos nr tragedy in the strict and rare sense these poets seldom or never touch and the way in which they have remainted the ideal heroes of old recall to one a mind Dryden's travesty of Milton or of Shakespeare. Admitting even the pictural effect the musical cadence and the wonderful spell of language which are the chief redeeming features of this poetry the ts te and style are sometimes so vitiated and vulgar that it fully deserves the numeris of neglect which is gradually falling upon it. The degenerate court influence went a lung way not only in fortering a certain feminine langour and luxurance of style, but it was also responsible for the taut of indecency which often mars its best pa sages. This grossness was, no doubt partly conventional and sprang obviously from the noetic convention established by the later urtificial schools of Sanscrit Poetry but even admitting this it must be said that attempts to excuse this utter want of deceney and of morals have all proved futile and the least valid of all is that which would shield this poetry under the mantle of the classes The kutuis take the place of delis of Baisnaba songs; and the course of illicit love or lust with all its intricacies of courtship, intricace and meolence was never suffered to flaunt itself with such shameless impudence kven Rum prasud, in spite of his religious songs could not escape the contagion and the exquisite lyrics of the Kabiwalas were not wholly free from the taint

These enormities in the existing schools of poetry certainly indicate the close of the literary age. Excess of folly in poetry, like excess of injustice in political matters, lead up to and foretell revolutions. Besides, the course of ancient Bengali itself as a whole suffered from many drawbacks which hampered its growth cruelly and which might by

Inherent drawbacks in the old literature itself which retarded its growth of these diawbacks, the monotony of subject and the limitation of form were the foremost and engage the critic at

once It is time that the social and political conditions under an alien rule were never wholly favourable to the quiet development of national culture, that the contempt with which vernacular literature had been universally held always retarded its growth, that the Baishaba movement, even though it had wrested the monopoly of learning from the Brāhmans as a class, was more a sectarian than a wide-spical national tendency and it only intensified the devotional ardom which had very few opportunities for complete secularisation, and that literature, at least in the vernacular, was seldom cultivated for its own sake in those days when a leismed class of literary or scientific men had never arisen, yet even these circumstances do not wholly explain the absolute limitation of subject to

I eligion in the main, and out of reli-Limitation of subject gion to a little legend, a little contemporary social song, and the thinnest

surplus of other matters. Glorification of gods and goddessce seems to be the ultimate object of all the poets, who could not venture to publish anything except under the borrowel garb of religion. The marvellous results accomplished even within this limitation show that there was surely nothing wrong with the genius of these poets but something was wrong in the literature itself, that its theme was too narrow and limited to afford the fullest scope for development and progress.

One of the mmarkable tendencies of Contradir la t later Handa coltine generally and of

all ancient vernacular literature in particular was, that they carried the suppression of individuality too far and that the consequence has been to exalt authority and discourage originality. Of consecunothing can be more obicctionable than the obtinesse self a citizeness of modern time vet it must be admitted that it nevertheles, furthers intellectual progress for relaxing the sevents of effects conventionalities and allowing ambition frees scope and wider coming region. But this limitation of subject and this empercative take were

Monnt on I form courled with a further limitation of ancient poetry in its form, its staple of stereotyped verses beyond which it could never stray

but which was apt to become dull monotonous and sing song e-negaliv because of its sectional pauses. But the greatest drawlack which would of itself indicate the I verts of the literature in its certain assects, was the complete absence of proso as a vehicle

Absence of prose

of literary expression. It is time that in all literature as the immortal feet of Mohere implies prose always comes after poetry yet in ancient Bengali literature we have practically very

little good prose at all, however late ! In critically examining the literary history of Bengal in the pre British era It Is impossible to mistako the significance of these facts namely, that its poetry, though vigorously started under the hast auspices and though

Som account f the growth and devel pment f old Bengali prose is given in App I at the end of if is volume

attaining to some measure of relative perfection, was itself failing, and that at no period of its long history, it produced prose that could be called such There must have been something wrong in the very system, some coldness in the literary constitution to account for this decadence and this poverty If a literature after producing great things in the past does nothing more for centuries, if it shows signs of decalence and practically limits itself to trifles, then the conclusion is irresistible that it badly wants a change Long before the stability of British rule was beyond all question a process of decadence or dissolution had already begun which indicated a change in its spirit. The British occupation and its accompanying evils only hastened this change, that a new era of literary history began in Bengal with the film establishment of British rule. It is amiable but entirely unhistorical imagination which suggests that

These facts show that the decadent literature, if it were to prolong its life, needed a change, and the change was brought by the British occupation of Bengal it was the British rule which entirely swept away the old hterature and replaced it with the new. There was no such absolute breach of the continuity of our literary history, a change was inevitable and the British rule brought it about in the

most novel and unexpected way, although it would be difficult to say what form it would have taken had there been no British occupation of Bengal

The commencement of the 19th century saw a more settled

The beginning of the 19th century

order of things Beginning with the patch-work of the Regulating Act of 1774, vigorous attempts were made

to reform the abuses of misrule which had been bringing disgrace to British ideas of justice and honour, and the permanence of British rule was now more or less a settled

fact. The Company in the meantime had been extending its territories beyond the limits of Bengal Hastings had boldly thrown ando the mask of dual government which Clive had thought so expedient to wear. But even Hastings boldly ambitions of founding an Empire in India could not carry out what he levised The records of the period give us some glimpses of good intentions but there was little of actual performance From Corn wallis's time however we enter upon a hrighter period Cornwallis had greater freedom from interference or control and his noble rank enabled him to demand his own terms from the wase-heads at Leadenball Street In spite of Thornton a strictures it cannot be denied that Cornwallis realised for the first time that the governed as well as the governors ought to be considered in all system of good government. It was he who gave a botter moral tone to the civil service. It is not necessary here to trace step by step this gradual process of political reconstruction from Cornwallis's time onward or enter into the details of every scheme of reform or every administrative measure. The general effect of these changes was that the Company was gradually being transformed from a trading corporation into a sovereign power. The idea that Bengal was an estate which yielded a large rental but involved none of the responsibilities of government had not it is true totally disappeared but none of the administrators since this time can be regarded as mere land-stewards of a private property Narrow views still prevailed but we find a liberal minded Governor General like Wellesley laying stress upon the fact that the Factory had grown into an Empire and that the civil servants should not consider themselves as more agents of a commercial concern but as responsible officers and administrators whose duty it was to understand the people,

The revenue system began to be placed on a secure footing. There was greater peace and order throughout the country, and the civil, criminal, and police functions of the government were beginning to be organised. The rural administration was taken in hand and

Calcutta settling down into a metro polis,

Calcutta was forming itself into a metropolis In 1771, we find Calcutta a straggling village of mud-

houses, the whole of the ground south of Chandpal Ghat thickly covered with jungle and forest-trees From 1780 onwards, we read in the Calcutta papers of frequent complaints about the indescribably filthy condition of the streets and loads which is fully confirmed by the account of Grandpré in 1790, who tells us of the canals and cesspools reeking with putiefying animal matter the awful stench coming out of them the myriads of flies and flocks of animals and biids acting as scavenger 1 times of Hastings and Francis and for a long time after that, dacoity and highway robbery within a mile of the seat of government and of the Supreme Court were, we seen, crimes exceedingly prevalent But when Hastings' government abolished the provincial Revenue Councils and transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta the seat of the Supreme Courts of Justice as well as the head-seat of revenue administration and the Khalsa, Calcutta was being deliberately designed to become ultimately the political capital of Bengal 2 By 1800, a busy

This state of things continued for a long time and we here of constant complaints of this not only in the English papers and also in the Samāchār darpan as late 1818 See the Samāchār darpan, Nov 14, 1818, May 27, 1820 etc (the quotations, will be found given in my article on the above mentioned paper in Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā vol 24, no 3, p 163)

<sup>2</sup> Gleig, Memoirs of Wairen Hastings, vol 1 p 268

and flourishing town was being built up1 and attracted by its commercial importance of which not withstanding the monopoly of the Company and its disconvagement of private onterprise Stavorious writing so far back as 1770 bears strong testimony many Bengali families as well as men of other nationalities began to settle down Prom

Intellectual social contres spring ing up along the banks of the Ganges, close to Oalcutta.

the time of the inroads of the Mah rattae people had fled from the interior and sattled down on the banks of the Gances close to Calcutta, where in course of time there arose

several flourishing towns while the rest of Bengal lay under disorder and misrule Bengal in the times past had many capitals and many centres of learning and all these now converged to the few spots along the Gangesbank and chiefly to the metropolis. It is natural to expect that liere with Calcutta as its centre, began the earliest efforts to diffuse knowledge reform aboves formu late new ideas and build up a new order of society and literature From this arises the importance of the metropolis in later Bengali literature-an importance which will be more fully realised whon we consider that refined urbanity is one of the main character Importance of the city end the metropolis in istics which differentiates the modern later Bengali lite ators.

htersture from its pre-British prede-If the ancient literature as one of its historians

COMMOT says was a gift of the lower to the higher classes and was fortered chiefly in the remote and seeluded

On the history and topography of old Calcutta, literature is acattered and plentiful. One may however consult with advantage A K. Roy A Short History f Calcutta; Rainey T pographical and Hustorical Sketch of Calcutta 1876; Busteed Echoes from Old C leutt : Cotton, Calcutta Old d News articles in Beneal Past and P and and references given therein. Long Galeutta in Olden time

Village-homes, the modern literature is mostly the work of the educated man of the city, and a gift from him spreading down to the lowest classes. In studying modern literature, we must steadily keep our eyes fixed upon these centres of influences, of which Calcutta and Śrīrāmpur, as we shall see, become all-important in the first stage of our history.

In these crowded cities, which had drawn into it the flower of the Bengali families from all parts of the country and which afforded endless opportunities of intercourse between

Growth of Calcutta and its awakening to new influences the European and the Bengali communities, a new era was beginning in the social and literary history of the

people Happily for the country, the hour of awakening to new thoughts had dawned On the 10th October, 1800, we find the missionaries at Srījāmpur thus writing home "There appears to be a favourable change in the general temper of the people Commerce has roused new thoughts and awakened new energies, so that hundreds, if we could skilfully teach them, would crowd to learn the English language "Hitherto Education had been totally neglected The history of English education in Bengal has a very important bearing on the history of the intellectual progress and will be sketched in its proper place, it would be enough to indicate here that during the early

State of English education in the begin ning of the 19th cen tury days of the Company's rule, the promotion of education, neither here nor in England, was regarded as a duty of the government, on the contrary,

the safety of the Indian Empire was thought to depend

<sup>1 \*</sup>mith, Life of William Carey, (New reprint, 1912), p 274, Eustace Carey, Memoirs of William Carey, pp 406 7

npon keeping the people immersed in ignorance. It was not until Wellesley's time that more liberal ideas began to gain ground. Thus the history of education in this early period as we chall see, consisted chiefly of the educational efforts of private individuals who had set np schools for instruction in the rudiments of learning Such small isolated attempts are obviously by their very nature bound to be transitory and such private schools could not surely be expected to answer the larger purpose of national education. Such humble efforts date so far back as 17471 hat the desire of prospering in commercial enterprise under the new condition of things served as a great incentive to English education as Persian education. now declining had been eagerly sought for under the Molammedan administration In 1796 only a few Bengali children were taught by European school masters but gradually a set of Bongali teachers possessing a smatter ing of English came into existence and opened schools In those days however penmanship quickness in calculations and a knowledge of accounts were considered greater accomplishments than an accurate study of English itself and even men like Ram-dulal De we are told never cared to make a better acquaintance with English than picking up a few broken phrases of colloquial speech for such knowledge was enough to make them serve as ship-sarkars banians and writers and ultimately win for them coloreal fortunes Thus although the study of English was sought for no systematic course of instruction was given or required, and for a time a low and broken English or half English and half Bengali gibberish was spoken of which himorous specimens may be found in

Long Hand-Book to Bragal Missions, pp. 441-451 But see Good Old Days vol. i, p. 893 et see Rāj-nārāyan Basu's delightful little sketch of that time Sometimes, to eke out this half-diction, gestuie-language was used, somewhat in the manner in which Gulliver spoke to the Lilliputians

The state of Bengali education, if not in a worse, at least in no better plight. State of Bengalı edu mass of Bengali manuscripts recently cation unearthed by patient investigations of modern scholars was mostly unknown, and the literature of the time, possessing haidly any printed books, consisted chiefly of a handful of works, Manasa, Dhaimamangal, Mahābhārat of Kāśīdās, Rāmāyan of Krttıbās, Chandī of Kabi-kankan, Annadamangal of Bhaiat-chandia, and probably the songs of Ram-prasad The only works which were read in the Path-salas, we learn on the authority of the biographer of Rām-kamal Sen<sup>1</sup>, were Guiudaksinā and the rules of anthmetic by Subhankai There were neither good schools nor were there proper elementary textbooks for purposes of instruction, and even a decade later, this was one of the initial difficulties which the School Society felt in carrying out its worthy object of Bengali education Such was the state of Bengali learning at this time that we leain from a writer in the Friend of India? "If they can write at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them could lead what is written by another and some of them can scarcely wade through that has been written by themselves, after any lapse of time If they have leaint to read, they can

Pearychand Mitra, Life of Ramhomul Sen (1880), p 7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> vol 11, p 392, quoted in Cal Rev vol x111, 1850 p 132 See also Quarterly Friend of India, vol 1v p 152 This remaik is confirmed by what Forster says in the Introduction to his Vocabulary with regard to the uncertainty of Bengali spelling and Bengali script

seklom read five words together without stopping to make ont the syllables and often scarcely two even when the writing is legible. The case is precisely the same with the knowledge of figures" These observations however, coming as they do perhaps from a missionary whose personal knowledge of the country and its inhabitants might not perhaps have extended beyond narrow limits must be taken subject to this reservation that although this might be the picture of the general state of knowledge and culture at this time, yet there still lived in dignified isolation a few learned pundits in the remote villages and that the days of Sansont learning were not quite over But even these Brühmans with a few exceptions were now as we have stated a fallen race and the exclusive genius of Brillmanism in its lowest phase not only barred the masses from the temple of knowledge but also made themselves neglect the vernacular as 'Prakent' dialect fit only for demons and women " So far indeed had they carried their contempt for their mother tongue that while they cultivated the learned language with assiduity they in many instances, prided themselves on writing the language of the people with inaccuracy and sometimes in an almost unintelligible semi barbane sansontised style. We shall see some specimens of the latter kind even in the writings of the more accomplished Pundits of the Fort William College It is natural to expect that these so-called pundits should strennously discourage the use of the vernacular among the people and set their face against its improvement. The neglect of the vernaculars especially Bengali had reached such a stage that when Dr Carev began to lecture at Fort William College he could hardly muster a class and the same learned doctor when he visited Nadiya, not many years ago the illustrious centre of Bengali language and literature he could not discover

more than 40 separate works, all in manuscripts, as the whole literature of 30,000,000 of people up to that time "1

The state of learning in Bengal may not be unfitly compared to that in England after the ravages of the Danes, of which King Alfred said "there was a time when people came to this island for instruction, now we must get it from abroad, if we want it " For, under this state of things, it is obvious that no impetus coming from within,

Improvement comes from without

if improvement is to be effected, it must come from outside When we picture to ouiselves adventuieis, ne'ei-

do-wells, plain townsfolk and country-folk, peaceful homestayers in the remote villages and commercial banians in the crowded cities, and later on, well-to-do English gentlemen pushing their way up the liver, laying out broad plantations and sultanising over the whole neighbourhood, we can hardly expect any manifestation of the literary genius in such an environment With the mental and physical absorption incident upon social and political disorders in the country, with no metropolis to furnish the needed contact of mind with mind, with repressive material needs causing large drain upon one's physical energy, and above all, with the decay of artistic impulses and literary traditions, it is no wonder that the nation produced little literature and developed little culture of importance impulse at length came from outside. We cannot but acknowledge with feelings of mingled shame and grateful-

European workers, sonaries, in the field

ness that the first and earliest efforts at ameleorating our condition were made by a handful of philanthropic Europeans, both civilians and missionaires, who in their

<sup>1</sup> Smith, op cit, p 202

liberal views moved far ahead of their age. In spite of the

Relation between the European and the Bengali community in those days. Cornwalls Code and the public policy of exclusion the ruler and the ruled had begun to live in greater amity and fellow feeling. With the assumption of the public of political community to

tion of the responsibilities of political government the ruling classes began to take greater interest in the lives of the people committed to their care. In vain do we seek in modern Bengal philanthropists of the type of Colvin Palmer Carey Marshman and David Hare whose memory is still gratefully intenshed by the Bengali-speaking race ! No donbt the Company's servants butherto had never regarded India as their home hot they had been always sojourners in a far country whose only ambition was to obtain nches as soon as possible and return home as gentlemen of lessure. This was one of the under vince causes of the constant disputes between the Company and its self-seaking agents and it is no wonder that throughout the 18th century constant complaints of corruption peculation and general dishonesty of the agents are to be found in the Letter Books of the Company But with stability of British rule when commercialism was declining as a dominating factor in the Company's policy and with the realisation of greater administrative responsibility this order of things was Two obvious reasons naturally gradually changing strengthened the ties which bound these foreigners to this country The first is that in those days of weary and perilons voyage round the Cape men who came out to India and had a taste for the easy going (sometimes reck less) life of pleasure and profit in the tropics had no mind to return home very soon while in the next place, the

The couplet goes thus (q oted in Raj nardyan Basus Etai OSeiai); হয়ার কবিন্ পানরত কেরী মার্শনন্তবা। পর্ক পোরা আর্থিকার বহাপাতকনাপন্য। number of Europeans who hved here was very small and they consisted mostly of officials, for not only was the climate unsuitable to Europeans generally 1 but the policy of the government also regarded the introduction of freetrade and Europeans to be dangerons to the safety of the newly acquired empire. But whatever might be the reason, there is no gunsaying the fact that most of these Europeans, who had hved here for a long time, had a genuine affection for the country, and some of them went so far as to adopt the manners and customs and even the dress of the Bengah population Enjoying the hooka, whose "long ornamental snake coiled round and round the rails of the chair" was one of the customs, among others, immortalised by Thackeray, which was long fashionable 2 with these official and non-official 'Nabobs', and it would surprise many a modern reader to learn that it even fascinated the ladies, on whose part "it was considered a high compriment to show a preference for a gentleman by tasting his hooka"

Besides this affection of the early European settlers for their land of adoption, which Study of Bengali by prompted them to express themselves occasionally in its language, there were other purely political and utilitarian grounds which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf Sir Philip Francis's impressions of his residence in this country Macaulay, writing after 60 years with the experience of a much improved country, speaks almost in the same strain in his characteristically sweeping way

A picture of this custom and manner of life is preserved for us in the pages of the immortal  $\overline{A}l\overline{a}ler$  Gharer Dul $\overline{a}l$  We read in Carcy's Dialogues (3rd Ed 1818, p 3) that one of the indispensably necessary servant of the Englishman's household was a hookabardar or a man to prepare his hooka Stavorinus (vol 1, 345) also ielates how on the occasion of his visit to Governor Cartier at Calcutta, he was treated with the hooka at an orientally sumptions banquet given in his honour See also Busteed, op cit p 157, Good Old Days, vol 1 63

induced them to the study and encouragement of the vernacular. Time was coming when Bengali should both officially as well as popularly be the recognised vernacular and both Halhed and Forster the two earliest important European writers in Bengali rightly insist at some length upon the absurdity and inconvenience of continuing

Its political and the market place and advocate more wide-spread and general use of

Bengali in its place. Exigencies of administration which had made it almost obligatory for the governors to learn the language of the governed hastened this movement towards the neglected vernacular The missionanes, on the other hand found out early that if they were to reach the people directly they must first learn their language and gain a thorough knowledge of their modes of thinking and feel Systematic mission work always presupposed a thorough training in their language. All these and other reasons first impelled the early Puropean settlers to take to a systematic study of the neglected vernacular When therefore with the disappearance of the old Bengali writers Bengali hterature had been sent adrift to shift for itself as best as it could it was taken up and fostered hy strangers bailing from distant lands whom fortunately political personal or utilitarian reasons if not always the love of the language or the literature steelf first urged to its elaborate study under entirely new conditions

This brief and necessarily incomplete picture of the general state of this country from 1780 to 1800 will to

Concluding remarks on the significance of the general history of the time to its literary history some extent, exhibit the new conditions under which modern Bengali hterature first came into being The instability and perturbation consequent upon these political changes as well as the almost entire disintegration of social solidarity will no doubt explain the external circumstances which ictaided the growth of literature, but the literature itself since the days of Bharat-chandra had been showing inheient signs of exhaustion and decay, which was only hastened, instead of being checked, by political and social revolutions. The necessarily slow and laborious piocess of icconstruction which followed upon these vicissitudes absorbed men's mind for more than half a century from 1800 This will explain not only why we do not come across any great and important writer before we reach the age of Michael or Bankim but it will also exhibit very clearly how literary movements in Bengal had perforce been closely bound up with political, social, religious, and other movements in the first half of the 19th century Every great writer of this period transition was of necessity a politician, a social reformer, and a religious enthusiast We need hardly cite, for illustration, the long list of such important names as those of Ram-mohan Ray, Krsnamohan Bandy opadhy ay, Aksay Datta, Debendianath Thakui, Isvai-chandra Bidyasagar, Tek-chand, or Rajendralal Mitra Even in the next generation Bankim-chandia could not keep himself entirely free from this universal tendency Politics, social reform, and religious revival went hand in hand with literary cleation From 1825 to 1858, if not in the actually under neview in this volume, we shall have to

Literary movements in the 19th century closely bound up with political, social, and other movements extend our vision and include in our consideration various aspects of national history other than the one which is merely literary. To treat Bengali Literature in the 19th century as a

series of isolated phenomenon is to give a wrong historical perspective, for here, as everywhere, literary thought and

contemporary events are two inseparable aspects of national history. It is true that during the period between 1800 and 1825 with which more specially the present enquiry is concerned these tendenoies did not come into such hold relief as in the period immediately following upon it, yet for the underetanding of the general drift, the historian of literature must from the beginning keep in view the relation of literature to the political and social history of the time and this apart from all reference to the theory of the insensible moulding of the literary mind and art by the considerations of race time or circumstance will sufficiently make obear the necessity of devoting tedions pages to a general description of the state of this country at the outset of our literary history

The immediate effect of the political and social victoritides of the second half of the eighteenth century was depreciating in the extreme. The old Bengali literature which had been subsiding gradually into decrepting and decay practically disappeared. The Kabiwalas, the few isolated writers in the old style the authors of Pāmkāti and the host of inferior imitators of Bharat chandra had no doubt kept up the continuity of literary

Absence of literary ventures in the first period of ur history how to be explaited.

history and maintained, even with dechaing powers the ancient trend of thought and feeling. But it was an age not conspicuous for the appreciation of high ideas nor for

any great enthusiasm for literary ventures. The decadence inspite of these belated efforts of an inferior if not an insignificant, band of writers was rapidly hashened and the necessity of an external stimulus which alone could have given a new lesse of life to the declining literature was ingently felt. Such an external stimulus was not forthooming intil sometime had elapsed and tranquillity had been attained, until the uch and plentiful literature of the West, which under the peculiar encumstances was alone capable of furnishing the needed impetus, had been made accessible to the literary men of Bengal. In the meantime, the alien rulers of Bengal, brought up in the habits of unchecked power and in the ignorance and passion of an adventurous life, cared little for culture or literature. The general people of the country, among whom literary traditions and aspirations had been all but extinct or had not found scope for free play, were apathetic to literary culture and devoted their attentions, in this troublesome time, to the more urgent and engrossing

Necessity of a 1e generation of the general intellectual life in the country before a renewal of literature could be made possible

material necessities of life. The first step, therefore, that had to be taken, before literary venture could be possible, was towards diffusion of knowledge, spread of education, and promotion of literary tendencies 19th century, therefore, was entirely

The first half of the 19th century, therefore, was entirely taken up in the realisation of these objects. It was necessary to prepare text-books, to translate standard works from foreign languages, to reprint older classies from maccessible manuscripts, and in this way generally to furnish a leaven for elevating the decaying intellectual life of the country. This was the work chiefly of the foreign writers in Bengali and their colleagues, the

Importance of the work of the European writers in this respect.

Pundits of the Fort Willi m College, who were proneers in various departments of vernacular writing and who wrote, not with any personal literary

ambition but with the more modest yet useful object of promoting general education. To their efforts, therefore, we chiefly owe, in a very practical sense, if not the regeneration of our literature, at least the regeneration of

intellectual activities in the country. It is not in the least degree correct to say as it has been often enthusiastically said that the the missionary especially. Dr. Carey, who created modern Bengali Laterature. The creation of modern literary Bengali covers a period of more than half a century from Carey's time and literary style in the strict sense of the term was not attained until a generation later when a band of youthful Bengali writers had come into the field equipped in all the wealth of the

Impetus given to the spread of education and general culture

new knowledge. It is true indeed that the missionance gave an impetus to vernacular writing when it was generally neglected. But at the

same time it must be borne in mind that we cannot fasten the parentage of modern Bengali upon the missionance only much less upon Dr Carey alone and that literature was never the cole object of the European writers but education or evangelisation. If their work fostered literature it was not due to any definite intention on their part to do so but it was an incidental result of what they had done for the revival of education in Bengal Anational literature whether ancient or modern is the ontcome of a long process of development and even Carey himself had realised very early that in spite of the efforts of the foreigners the best way of building no such a literature would be inducing the children of the soil themselves to take to earnest literary work. The missionary even if he is a talented man like Carey did hardly produce anything strictly deserving the name of literature. The importance of the missionary work in Bengali does not lie in this the literature of to-day is work not of Carey Halhed or Forster hat of the people of the soil of Mityuniay of Ram mohan of Bankum-chandra of Michael Madhuandan The missionaries, however, did a great work in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in supplying the needed impetus to education by founding schools, writing elementary school-books, and diffusing knowledge through the medium of Bengali all which however had a more wide and far-reaching effect than what they were actually intended to produce

We may resent this foreign intrusion at the outset of our history but under the circumstances and in the environment such as they were, it could not have been otherwise. No doubt, the hour had come for such a

Foreign intrusion under the circum stances unavoidable, its good effects

regeneration and reconstruction Had there been no foreign workers in the field, the work, however delayed, would not certainly have remained in abevance. But the missionaries were

the first to take up the work in right earnest, and, in this respect, the importance of these early half-forgotten can never be exaggerated foreign writeis course, as in all early periods of literary history, the work done here chiefly consisted of translation and adaptation, yet it must be admitted that there is hardly any department of useful knowledge which these European writers did not touch It is true that they could not adorn whatever they touched, but when we consider the large number of workers in the field Carey, Marshman, Ward, Haughton, Yates, Morton, Pearson, Mack, Pearce, Miller, Hailey, May, Stewart, to mention at random a few of the more well-known then earnest philanthropic zeal, then unflagging diligence, the extraoidinary variety, extent and influence of their writings, we cannot surely speak lightly of these pioneei writers

It is easier to disclaim foreign influence and talk of independence than actually to attain it. The literary history of Bengal in the 19th century is really the history

Contact with West and infinence of

western ideas

modern literature

the

on

of the influence of European ideas on Bengali thought We can indeed dismiss withint much serinus loss the carly European writers.

who had cortainly their nwn ulterior nbrects in their assidnous study nf the vernacular and whose writings

considered as literature possess little or un intrinsio merit But we cannot dismiss so easily those immaterial immigrants known as influences which came in with the first European settler in the land and brought on by degrees a conflict and a royulution in nor ideas and modes of When necessity had brought the East and the West side by side it would be idle to quote Kipling's famous dictum of the unchanging East or assert ourselves

What the European writers did for the sproad and acceptance of these ideas.

independent of all contact or infinence of western ideas. The process efforts of the missioners and the school master for diffusing knowledge and culture through the medium

Bengali had sarely a more wide-reaching effect than that of giving temporary impetes to dormant intellectual or literary activities for the literature which had been brought into being through the influence of western ideas was only nne effect of a vaster revolution in thought manners and religion which had taken place in this country through our contact with the West It is not of this conflict of the eastern with the western ideals that nur modern literature has grown and the rude early efforts of the missionary and the school master by propagating western ideas had naved the way for this peculiar development of culture and literature in Bengal It is with the missionary and the school master therefore, that we must begin nor study of the bistory of this national progress as reflected through the vernacular literaturn. It is they who have laid the foundations upon which the vast fabric of present-day literature is based, and every historical survey must equally embrace and define the place of the pioneer who did the spade-work as well as that of the mature littérateur who wins the laurel-wreath of later glories

## CHAPTER III

## PARTIEST EUROPEAN WRITERS

It is not before the firm establishment of the British rule in Bengal in the beginning of the 19th century that the early European settlers came in touch with Bengal language and literature Before this there is no trace of systematic effort in this direction although several works have been discovered which belong to a pseudocenthem 1800. Of these works it is not easy however to determine with certainty what Anglo-Bengali writing can claim the distinction of being the first publication by a European writer Grierson in two papers in the Journal and

Early publications by European writers Proceedings of the Asiatio Conety of Bengal 1 holds that the so-called Bengal rendering of the Lord's Prayer

in Chamberlayne's Sylloge published in 1715 is perhaps the earliest extant attempt at Bengali composition by a Enropean writer. This Sylloge is a collection of translations of the Lord's Prayer into various languages, prepared by John Chamberlayne and David Williams. This work actually contains a plate purporting to represent

Early isolated attempts.

a translation in Bengali which is head ed Bengalica." But it has been shown

J wraci f the denote Society f Bengul vol. xlii, 1893 p 42ff. and Proceedings of the same Society 1895 p 89. The plate is gi on in the Proceedings See also Grierson, Li g sate S resy v l v pt i p 23. The characters are hardly Benguli.

that this unintelligible jargon is not Bengali at all and

So called Bengali version of Lord's Praver in Chamberlavic's Sylloge

Wilkins limiself confesses in the preface to that work that he had been unable to obtain a Bengali acadering (which language he thought to be

all but extinct!) but that he had written a Malay version in the so-called Bengali character. Giverson also mentions! that in the Orientalisch-und-oreidentalischer Sprachmeister compiled by Johann Friedrich Fritz (Deipzig, 1748), the Bengali alphabet given as a specimen is said to have been taken from the turinek Szeb apparently a life of a Aurangzeb, by Georg Jacob Kehr But of this latter book no trace

## iemains

Leaving aside these isolated and tentative efforts, ical attempt at sustained Bengali composition did not begin till the time when the Portuguese, before the English, had begun to establish themselves in Bengil

The Portuguese in many parts of this country and carried on an extensive frade in the chief sea-ports. The number of people claiming themselves to be of Portuguese descent was in the 17th century very large and Portuguese language had established itself as the lingua franca of the country? Among these Portuguese adventurers and pirates, however, we can never expect any serious attempt at literary composition but the Portuguese missionaries seem to have done some work in this direction. Bernier, about 1660, speaks of "Portugal fathers and missionaries" in Rengal and says that in Bengal there are

<sup>1</sup> Grierson, Linguistic Suricy, loc cit

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The Portuguese language has bequeathed a large number of expressions to the vernacular tongue

<sup>3</sup> Travels, p 27

to be found not less than eight or nine thousand families of Franguis Portugals. Indeed there is enough evidence to show that Roman Catholio Mission, some of Portuguese

R man C tholic a d Portuguesa Missiona rica, origin had at this time its centre in many parts of Bengal and that it had extended its scrivity from Balasore and Hugh to Chittsgoog and

Daces. I from the records left by these missionance it seems that these Catholic missionances like their Protestant or Dissenting successors in the next century did not neglect to mix with the people of Bengal and learn their language. In 1683 Father Marcos Antonio Satucci S J. the superior of the Mission among these Bengali converts between 1679 and 1683 writes thins

Translation we k i Bangali, The fathers have not failed in their duty they have learned the language well have composed vecabularies a

grammar a c nfeesionary and prayers that have translated the Christian doctrine etc. nothing of which existed till now ! Hosten mentions another early allusion to translational work undertaken in Bengal in a letter of Francis Fernaudez dated Siripar a town of Bengalla ! January 17 1599 where it is stated that

Fath Hosten S J of the St Xavier's College Calcutta, has been giving intere if g accounts of these missions and missionsries in the J s I fth A tc Society f Bengal (Peb 1911) and Bengal Part and Present

O Chron sta de T wary Gon. I ii 1867 p 12, quoted by Host n i Bergal Past of Peerst vol. iv, pt i This Church still exists It was twice bornt down and rebuilt Its records I am gi en t under stand, have all perished in the fire

Stripur we learn from an article (Portuguese a I dis) i C l Res vol. v 1846 i situated 18 miles south of Sonergang in Decca and was in the 16th century an extensi. Port gues settlem t. It is modern Sripur See Jati dramohan Riy Dhal - Uhuro ol 1 p 839 Fernandez composed a small treatise explaining summarily the points of the Christian religion and a small catechism in the form of a dialogue Father Dominic De Souza translated both these works into the "Bengalla" tongue 1 In Lettres Edipantes et Curieuses,2 Father Barbier, as early as 1723, mentions that he prepared a little entechism in From these and other references, it is not hazardous to conclude that these Portuguese missionaries, like Carey and Maishman of a later age, though on a modest scale, must have created and left behind them an interesting body of Portuguese-Bengali literature Portuguese-Bengah literature, little trace remains the few extant writings of a distinctly Portuguese origin, three works, all purported to be written or edited by Manoel da Assumpçaó, Rector of Missio de Santa Nicolao de Tolentino deserve mention

All these works are supposed to have been written at Nagori, Bhawal, near Dacca. It has already been mentioned that the Portuguese missionaries had a centre at Dacca, where the existence of a church has been mentioned by Père Barbier in the Lettres Edifiantes. Tavernier,

Extrait de Letties du P Nicolas Pimenta Anvers, Tiognese, 1601 Nicholas Pimenta was a Jesuit missionary of Goa (Visiteur de la Compignie de Jesus en l'Inde l'un 1598) He sent these two missionaries, François Fernandez and Dominic (or Dominique) Sosa, to Bengal, from whose letters to Pimenta we get some account of contemporary Bengal and the Portuguese Missions at Siripui and elsewhere See Peirre Du Jarric, Historie des Indes Orientales 1610, chap xxix, also xxx to xxxiii Also see Nicalao Pimenta, Relatio Historica de rebus in India Orientali Anno MDCI See Beveridge, Balargany, p 29 and other references

Lettre de Père Barbier, Missionaire de la Compagnie de Jesus, La Mission de Carnate, January 15, 1723, in Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses Nouvelle Ed Memoires de Indes tome xiii, 1781, p 278

nbout 1020 states that Dacca has a church of the Augustinanas a very stately pile?!

Portugueso Church and Hosten in his papers on Roman Catholio Vissions and Vissionaries gives interesting accounts from original records of this

Misno do S Nicolao Tolentino near Bhawal Dacca.

Mancel da Assumpça6 a native of From and an Augustinian frar of the Congregação da India Oriental was the Rector of this Mission Of his life and labours nothing definite is known but be seems to have been a zealous missionary and com posed two books and edited one in Bengali.

Bengali with the object of affording facilities to the missionaries in their Bengali discussions

Of these three works his earliest composition seems to have been what hather Thirso Lopes in his note to Hostels paper a calls an Abridgment of the Mysteries of Patth (Compendio dos misterios da fee ordenado em higua Bengalla pelo P Fr

with the Bramenes and Gentoos \$

Tarernier's T arels ed Ball Lond n, 1880 of i p 1.8

References on en t The other centres I these August ian mission ries i B gai was the Courent of N Senh ra l Rosario of Ugalim (ii gli) i Be goin

Father liest a state (Bengal Past of Present ol. 1 pt. 1 pt. 1 pt. 4.)
that he has been informed that MSS of these works re now in th
Public Library of Prors

Quoted I note (4) abo e Father Lopeas authorities, in addition to Rarbona Maclado and Osal ger are Catalogo des Manuscriptos da Dibistânce P bisos Ebo asse orde ado pelo Bibliothecario Joaquim II Uodoro da On ha Rivara, t. i p. 345; Silva, Diccionario B bilographico Port gues t. p. 387; Bonifacio Moral Revista La O. 1ad de Des t. 37 pp. 433-31, Unfortunately these books are not available here.

Manoel da Assumpçaó) A little worm-eaten and partly mutilated copy of this work a crists in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The imming title is

Crepa Laxtrer Orth,
bled or Catheersmo
da Doutrina Christaa

Crepar Xartrer Orth, bhed or Cathecismo da Doutrina Christaú The copy in the Asiatic Society is wanting in the title-page, but an interest-

ing certificate of publication in Portuguese is inserted at the beginning from which we learn that it was completed on Angust 28, 1731. It is dated from a place named Ba( )1, 2 which appears to be Bhawal from a reference at page 2 of the book itself, where Nagori also is mentioned. It might have been, as Father Lopes suggests on the authority of Barbosa Machado, 3 printed at Lisbon by Francisco da Silva (Sylva) in 1743 but unfortunately the loss of the title-page deprives us of the most certain means of corroborating this suggestion 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An account of this work on the basis of this copy was read by me at the Bangīva Sāhitya Pavisat on Sept 24, 1916—the paper is published in the Patrikā (vol 23, p. 179) of the same Society, which see for detailed information

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Preface, as we have it now, is in places worm eaten. This is what can be deciphered

Certifico cu Fr Manoel da / Assumpçaó, Reitoi da Mis(si)o/ de S Nicolao Tolentino e/ (ac)toi deste compendio, (e)stai o() / compendio tresladado ao pe (da) / letia assim o Bengalla como o/ (Po)-ringuez e certifico mais ser es() / Dontina que os inturaes mais/ tendein, e entre todas a mais/ (pu)rificada de erros, em fe de que/ esta Certidao, e se necessario/ a juro In Verbo Saceidotis Ba/(va)l nos 28 de Agosto de 1734 Fr Manoel da Assumpçaó

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica Critica e Chronologica, t m, p 183, col n

<sup>\*</sup> Burnell (A Tentative List of Portuguese Books and Manuscripts 1880) also gives 1743 and Lisbon as the date and place of publication (s v Manoel da Assumpçaó) his authorities being Barbosa Machado and Ossinger (Bibliotheca Augustiniana, p 84) Ossinger gives the title as Catheersmus doctrinae Christianae per modum dialogi

The book is composed in both Portuguess and Hengali the former version appearing on the rectos and the latter on the versos of the pages. The whole is in Roman character (Bengali chaincters having been non-existent) the word being transliterated according to the rules of Portuguese pronunciation. This method of transliteration is not only curious but also instead of its kind and having much value in the study of the phonetics of the Bengali language as it existed two centuries ago.

The book attempt at an exhautive explanation of the whole Christian doctrins in the form of a dialogue

Content and lift I receptor and Disciple based on the stand to the work stand to the based on the stands concert of an unaginary travel

to Bhawal. There are interspersed throughout short stories to illustrate moral principles. The centent of the work will be apparent from the following account of the division of the work and headacte of each chapter. The whole is divided into two books cuttifed I will I and II.

Path 1 (pp 2-313) No(col )oner ortho clong I rethosphic prothosphic buzhan

- Tazel I (pp 2 18)-\ndh erucer orthobled (Sign of the Cro-)
  - (pp 10-23-eq) Piter Paron chong tahan ortho (Our Father and explanation thereof)
  - III (pp \* aute 49 70) This part is wanting in several pages not known at what page it begins and what its title is. The subject seems to be Hail Mary and Rosary

Professor 8 nitt Kumar Ch II rji sead a paper n this point at a meeting of the 64bity Pari at 8 p 1 1016 which i publi hed in the Patrika of tio same Soci ty (1322 vol 23, p 107)

- (pp 77-136) Mam votto Nuanzan, Axthan chondo blied abong tahandiguer ortho (The Creed and Articles of Faith and explanation thereof)
  - V (pp 137-211) Dos Aggina, ebong tahandiguer ortho (Ten Commandments and explanation thereof)
- VI (pp 245-272) Pans Aggma, chong tahandiguer ortho (Five Commandments of the Chinch and explanation thereof)
- VII (pp 273-313) Xat Sacramentos, chong tahandiguer ortho (Seven Sacraments and explination thereof)

Puthi II (pp 314-380) Poion vactio vocal, at ze nehit zanite voigue zaibai (Explanation of the whole doctrine and what a Christian must know)

- Tazel I (pp 314-356) Axthan blied bichan sotto coria xiqhiban xiqhaibar upac tariban (Mysteries of the Faith)
  - II (pp 356-380) Poion Xaxtro mrala (Prayers of the doctime) <sup>1</sup>

There are two songs in Puthi II one at p 348 headed "Cantiga sobre os mysterios de fe orthobheder dhormo guit" (Song on the mysteries of Faith), and the other at p 353 headed "Cantiga Ao Menino Jesus recem nacido Baloq Jesuzer guit zormo xttane xora" (Song on infant Jesus newly born)

The book may be interesting as an early explanation of the Roman Catholic doctrine but its chief value, to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The copy, as we have it, is probably incomplete for p 350 is not apparently the end of the book and some pages seem to have been lost there after. The copy also wants the title page, pp 33 48, 155 158, 321 336, pp 371 372 incl and all after p 380

an historian of Bengali literature lies in its being the first important and sustained Bengali composition by a European author. It gives us the earliest specimen of Missionary Bengali as it had existed about a century and a half before Carey. Marshman and their colleagues took the field and its Bengali is certainly more homely and well written than the stiff and groping language of Carey s Dharmapustak. One is tempted to quote specimens at greater length from this interesting work but space forbids quotation of more than one or two illustrative extracts.

Father O érin who brought at edition of this work from Oha dan namer in 1830 states in the Latin eref co t that ed ton that the Portuguese portion only was written by M noel, while the Benguil portion was the work of some Benguli Christian at Bhawal. But of this there is no evidence Father O frin ed tion, a copy f whi h was lent to me by Father I Wanters of th Sacred Beart of Jesus, Dharmatala Calentta is interesti g the gh its Bengali is certainly not so remarkable. It is published in Bo sull characters and named দুপার শাহের অৰ্থ বন (not Cen) It is entirely re-written and remodelled and there is a Latin preface. Nearly two-thirds of the original is expunged as being pocryphal and objectionable while three new dialogues are added, also a list of solar and lunar eclipses calculated to Re ral from 1816 to 1904. The scope and conte tauf the work will be sufficiently explained by its title Catéchisme | suivi do trois dialogues | et d la list / des Eclipses de solell et d lu s / calculées pour la Bangale à partir d 1830 jusquen 1904 incl sivement. / Nouvelle editio revue et corngée कृतात नार बाद भवरित्र / पूर्वप्रत भार करतात वाहन अनुनात महिन्छ ১० বংকরের / জারত ১৮০০ সাল অবৃদ্ধি সহর চলন নগর / এবং সময় বাজালা লেখের নিদি ৪ / করিবাছেন জাকবছ জাবছিলাব মারিবা খেরেন / চলন সগবের সর্ব্বেয়াছর भारती / विक्रीवर्गत अर एक्कान श्रीवामगुरूत महाविक वर्तेन । / तम svee / 1t to it reating to note that Path r Gueria himself was an assiduous student of Astronomy and published after his return to E gland a work on Indian Astronomy in 1847

P oth specimons, see my paper i the Bakglys Säkitys P resat Patriks (1823 vol 23 p 170)

## Harl Mary

Pionam Maria / Crepae purnit , / Tomaté Tahacui assen / Dhormi tomi / Xocol Mili Specimens of its loquer moidh / Dhormo pho' / Tomai udore / Jesus / Xidha Milia / Poromevorer Mata / Xadho amora papir caron / Eqhone, at / Amardiguer multur calé / Amen Jesus

The second extract is a story illustrating the efficacy of the Cross in warding off the powers of evil

Guiu Boio Archoizio cotha colula emot lice ai colio, aidhi ciux corile Bhutei cumoti iii dui zaé?

Xixio Hoe bhutei cumoti dni zae, ebong Bhute o polae Ehi xonai pioman xono

Equahorimenu assilo, tahare Bhute bazi dia cohiló tin zodi amai nophoi hoite chahux, ami toie oneq dhan dilani Racolae cohiló, bhalo, tomai dax hoibo tomi amaié dhon dibá Bhute cohilo, tabe amar golam hoile toi nchit nohe dhoimo ghaie zaite, ebong xidhi Ciux ai codachitio combi na, emot ze cole xe amai golam, ehi amai agguia, taha palon combi, emot zodi na com, tomaie boutthbotth taiona dibam. Raqhoale cohilo zaha agguia colo, taha combo, zodi emot na com, tomai ze iccha, xei hoibeg

Oneq din obhaguia Raqhoale bhutei xacii coniló, tahai poi eq din munivio bol coma reqholaque dhoma dhomo ghore lora quelo. Dhomo ghore eq Padri assilen, ver boro vadhii tini loq xocolere cohilin. Tomara raqhoaler upore vidlii Ciux coró. Emot loq vocole combo. Toqhon bhute boró cord coma raqhoalerá oneq tarona dite lagnilo. Eha dequia Padre raqhoálque dhomlen, bhintere tironá dité mana comlen. Tobe Bhinte aro bex cord coma. Padmé cohiló, Ehi munivió amar dax, amar aggura bhanginlo, tahare vaxtir dibar uchit. talare

eria deo na tomare o xavtti dibam Padri colulen tabare eria dibo na amare, zaha corite parix taha cori. Tolić bluité emot cumontro corilo ze Padrir muqh beca hollo Eha deqhia loq xocolé ghore polaia guelo

Toqhon Padri xidin erux corilen ebong muqh xidin holo Tahar par ar Crix corilen raqhadir upore elong Crix coria Bhuté polaia guelo Raqhadic o calax holo calax hoia tahar xocol oporid confessor corilo Nirmol dhormo o bhocti rupe lolo ebong piniorbar pailo ze crepa liaraiassilo pap caria

The second important work of Manoel da Assumpça6 which deserves mention as being perhaps the first grammar

Focubiling and dictionary in the Bengali language
Id own Be gall a Ports
g as first Be gall
grammar ad diction
rv 1713

It is patter published at Lisbon 1743. This book is not easily a rull

able here but it is mentioned in the Catalogue of the British Miseum and Grierson in his Liegardic Sorreg<sup>2</sup> has given a short account of this notable work. In the first forty pages of the Focabulario is Liven a compendium of Bengali grammar the root of the book being divided into two parts viz vocabulary. Bengali Portuguese pp 47-306 and Portuguese-Bengali pp 307-577. I the the last mentioned work. Cathecismo it is written throughout in Roman character, the works again being spelt according to the rules of Portuguese pronunciation.

The full titl is this Vocabula to em Idloma Be galla Portuguar, dividido n dua purter dedicuid o E cellente Re er Renhor D F Migu i de Ta ora Arceblapo d E ra do Concelho d sua Magestada Foy deligencia d Padre Fr Manoel da Assumpaçam R ligicon Eremita de Banto Agostinho da Congregação da I dia Orient 1 Llaba, 1 43 A f caimile of this titl Puge is gi n i Bahghik Samsyik Schitty by Kedkrasth Maj mdar vol i 1917 p 1

Besides these two original works, a third is also said to be associated with the name of Manoel The existence of this book was first made known by Father Thirso Lopes of Valladolid, Spain, in his note contributed to

Don Antonio's Cate chism in Bengali, 1743

Father Hosten's paper in the Bengal Past and Present (vol 1x pt 1, p 41)
The note runs thus "A Catechism

of the Christian Doctrine in the form of a dialogue was printed in 8vo at Lisbon in 1743 by Francisco da The contents are A discussion about the Law between a Christian Catholic Roman, and a Bramene or Master of the Gentoos It shows in the Bengalla tongue the falsity of the Gentoo sect and the infallible truth of our holy Roman Catholic faith, in which alone is the way of salvation and the knowledge of God's true Law Composed by the son of the King of Busna, Don Antonio, 1 that great Christian Catechist, who converted so many Gentoos, it was translated into Portuguese by Father Frey Manoel da Assumpçaó, a native of the city of Evora, and a member of the Indian Congregation of the Hermits of St Augustine, actually Rector of the Bengalla Mission, his object being to facilitate to the Missionaries their discussions in the said tongue with the Bramenes and Gentoos It is a dialogue between the Roman Catholic and the Gentoo Bramene Written in two columns, Bengala and Portuguese"

<sup>1</sup> Hosten, in the Bengal Past and Present, loc cit, gives an account of this sent legendary figure from O Chronista de Tissuary, vol 11 1867, pp 57 58 In the year 1663, a son of the King of Busna was taken prisoner by the Mogós and led to Airacaó, when one of the Fathers, Manoel do Rozario, ransomed him and converted him to Roman Catholic Christianity After his conversion, he was called Don Antonio de Rozario, after St Anthony who is said to have appeared to him in a dieam

From the above account, it will be seen that although there is evidence enough to show that the Roman Catholic missionaries at one time were very active in this country especially in Fastern Bengal yet not much trace i left of their direct or indirect connexion with the language or hierature of the country. Indeed before Carey mission arises entime, themselves a they did exclosively to their proselyting work never section by took either to educating the people of this country or unting in their language.

There was a vet no Protestant

Protestant III don aries before C rev

krown mi ionary before Carey who
visited this country was kiernander of whom we shall
have occasion to speak later on but kiernander himself
ignorant of the language is in no way connected with our
present enquiry. Of kiernander sa soBento de Sil estre
(little i Sil estre) crates however there was one Bento de

Bento de Sil estre (1725-1 80) C techism and Book f Common Prayer in Bengali

present enquiri. Of Kiernaniler a a socret ciates however there was one Bento de Silvestre (aliza de Sonza) who acema to have written a Bengali Catechi m

Mission to Bengal The only well

and a Book of Common Priver in Rengali. Bento is said to have been born in Goa about 17°81 of European parentage and his sojourn in Bengal extended from thirteen? to fifteen? veirs speed mo the at Calo the and Bandel He was for many years an Augustinan frame but he abjored the Pope before Europeaner on February 7 1700 4 whereupon he was applicated to the Mission at £20 n year and is reputed to have been a

Carry Orie t I Christ Biography C 1 18:0, vcl 11, p. 182 Nydo Parochial An 1 (Bengol Cal. 1901 p 13-

Carey op cit p. 183.

Oarey on cir give differe thates at p 182 v i ii the date give is July 1709 while in the same volume top 2000, the date is 1 69. The story of his public abjurgation f R man Catbolic faith is given in vol ii at p. 182. zealous preacher in Portuguese and to have translated large portions of the Book of Common Prayer and the Catechism into Bengali, entitled probably Prasnottara-mālā and Prarthanāmālā. His books are said to have been published by the Society for the promotion of Christian Knowledge and printed in London, Bento knew French, Portuguese, Bengali, and Hindustham. He probably died in 1786 at the age of fifty eight. The date of publication of his books is unknown. Nagendra Nāth Basin gives 1765 as the date of publication of Prasnottaramālā, 2 but this seems to be hardly correct, for Bento must have composed this work, after he was appointed Catechist, 1 e after 1766 (according to Hyde) or after 1768-69 (according to Carey)

So far as we can trace, these are the earliest names on the list of foreign benefactors to the Vernacular Literature of Bengal But we do not find any serious and definitely important achievement in the field, until we come to the illustrious name of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed 3

Since 1772 the East India Company had actually taken upon itself the entire responsibilities of administration, and this made it almost a necessity for its civil servants to study the vernacular of the country which they had now begun to govern 4 About this time, Halhed,

For further details, see my paper in the Pratibha (Dacca), Magh, 1322 BS References to Bento will be found in Carne, Lives of Eminent Missionaries (London, 1833) in the article on Kiernander, also see John Zachariah Kiernander (Bap Miss Piess, Cal 1877)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bisvacosa Art Bengali Lauguage and Literature

The name is not Nathaniel Plassy Halhed, as given in Dinesh Chandra Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta, 1911, pp 15, 848, 849

<sup>&#</sup>x27; See the claborate arguments set forth in the Preface (p 1-xxv) to Hallied's Grammar, in favour of the study of the Bengali language by Emopeans See also Introduction to Forster's Vocabulary

an able scholar who had already achieved some literary reputation and had been a friend of th niel Brassey Shiridan s 1 came out to Bengal as Il lb = (1751 1830)

a civilian and applied himself with great assidnity to the study of the Bengali language He is said to have attained so much proficiency in the language both in its colloquial and literary aspects that he hal be a known to dis\_uise himself in native dress and pa s as a Bengali in an assembly of Bengalis?

Nathaniel Brassey Halbed was born on May 25 1751 at Westingister His father William Hallied descended from an old Oxfordshire family was for eighteen years a Director of the Bank of Luglan! Young Hallied was

We less learn that Nathaniel Brassey II thed Esq either himself in collaboration with Itl hard Bri loy Sherid translated the Printles ( Aristometus lato Fuglish in tre in 1771 ( G nil m a If ye me larril pt. 2, 181 p 132)

R v J mes Long A Descript re Cat log | f De g l Book 1855 p 20: Calcutt Rev est 18:00 p. 134 Good Old D. v. f II "ble C mna w ol 1 p 23. But this story f 11 lbed profi iency in Do gali seem to be doubtful in the Friend find a (A g 1838) we read this pot of him, but of his nephew ' tha fel John H lhed (1 87 1838) a J dge of th Down I Adriat John II thest w re informed had an I command one th language to the is sall to have joined if it is party t Burdwan and passed there f r a Bengull. See also R G Sany 1 Reset ince car d'Anecdotes vol II p. 9 John H lied in Sanyal s work as well a f the Beng ! Obtunry (p "04) i said to have been a son of the grammarian H thed whi h l clearly a mistak for N B Halbed the grammarian wh married (before 1 84) Helena Rebant. a daughter of th Dutch Governor of Ohl are died without a vierce See Impers Messo by his so p 300 footnote Also Duct o ry f National Bogr pay Art. H lbed Thit Halbed pressure d a high degree of proficiency i the langu go a d bro ght the sci tific at dw f Bengali within easy reach is undoubted and justifies C lebrook a high onlogy (4 into Remarches of vil 1790 p 231) and to this is due the attrib ti n fall sorts f apocryphal stories to his credit. For N th iel J hn Halhed, see Rameh der Doss Ge eral Reg ster of H E I Co. e Civil Servanie the Bengal Establishme ! Cal. 1844, p. 155

educated at Harrow under Sumner, and there began his friendship with Richard Brinsley Sheridan, in conjunction with whom he subsequently produced a verse-translation of Anstaenetus 1 In 1768 he passed on to Christ Church, Oxford2 where he made the acquaintance of William (afterwards Sir William) Jones, also a Harrow boy, who led him to study some of the Oriental languages Having been jilted by Miss Linley in favour of Sheridan, he left England, having obtained a writership in the E I Company's Service In India he attracted the notice of Warren Hastings at whose suggestion he translated what is known as the Gentoo Code between 1774-6 (First Edition 1776, Second Edition 1777) He returned to England in 1785 and the subsequent listory of his life has little attraction for us He was returned to Parliament in 1791 for Symington, Hampshire, which he represented till From this time he became associated with the 1795 teachings of the fauatic prophet Richard Brothers, attracted possibly by their resemblance to oriental mysticism with which he was familiai In 1809 he obtained an appointment in the East India House He died in London, February 18, 1830, and was bried at Petersham, Surrey 3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Gen'leman's Magazine, 1812, pt 2, p 132, also Literary Ancodotes of the 18th Century, p 124 5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Alumni Oxomenses, Matric July 13, 1768, aged 17

For further particulars, see Asiatic Journal, 1836, pp 16571, The World, June 18, 1790, Teignmouth, Memons of Sin William Jones, 1804, pp 73, 431 and other references, Gentleman's Magazine, 1830 (pt 1, pp 1713), 1808 (pt 11, p 922), 1812 (p 132), Annual Register, Moore, Memons of Sheridan, 1825, Impey's Memons by his son, pp 355 et scq, Allibone, Dictionary of British and American Authors, 1895, vol 1, Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors, 1816, Dictionary of National Biography (in two last mentioned works a list of Haihed's works is given), Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol 11, p 431

Iu 17781 Halhed compiled and printed in English a

Gramm fth B: g2l Languag 1 8 Grammar of the Bengul Language 2 one of the earliest and for some time the best introduction to the se entitle study of the language 3. At this

time we had no printing press possessing a set of Bengali punches and the art of printing unknown we had hardly any printed interactive before this flister of in mining.

filstory of its printing by Sir Charles Wilkins date. The lustory of the printing of this work which was done in a press Hoogh in Bengal marks an era the history of Bougali literature. It is chiefly to exertions of the ever memorable Caxton of Beogal Charles (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilkies a Bengai Civilian and oriental scholar that we are indebted for the beautiful types which he had himself prepared and in which art he had instructed the Bengali mechanics thos in trodocing as he did the art of printing into this country It is impossible to exaggrerate the services thus rendered by this philanthropic Foglishman not only to the caose of vernacular literatore but also to the general culture of

The data is not 1 84 as given in the Beng t Ob teary p 237 Smith Life of Carey repeats the mistake (New Ed 191-, p. 150)

A Greanwar of the Be get Ling or by Nathaniel Brassey Halbed Fri ted at Hoorly in Bongel, MDCOLXXVIII (178) Th book is very scarce but copies may be found in the Calentia Imperial Library Bangiya Schitya Pariyat Library d Schrömpor College Library

The first Bengall grammar and dictionary so far as it can be traced was, as we have een in Portupuese A customs request pears in the Calcutt Gastif April 22 1780, beseeching any penil ms to undertake for p blic benefit the composition of a Bongall Grammar (Set in Karr Select as from C 1, O set! ii 407) It areons that by that time Halbeda Grammar had Irendy become scarce and the necessity for a fresh grammar was beenly felt.

the people, for it is undoubted that without this useful nt of printing the general education of the people under modern conditions is almost impossible

Charles Wilkins was born at Frome, Somerset, in 1750, son of Walter Wilkins of that town He came to Bengal in 1770 in the service of the Fast India Company

Sir Charles Wilkins 1750 1836

as a writer and became superintendent of the Company's Factories at Maldah "About 1778", he writes, his "curiosity was excited by the example of his triend Halhed" to commence the study of Sunscrit and Persian, the vernaculars he had previously studied left India for health in 1786 and re-entered the service of the Company in 1800 as Libiarian and Custodian of Onental Manuscripts, taken at the Fall Sermgapatam and elsewhere. He was also attached to the Haileybury College from its foundation in 1805 While in India he co-operated with Sir William Jones in the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was a valuable contributor to the earlier volumes of the Asiatic Researches He was an F R S (1788), a D C L of Oxford (1805), an Associate of the Institute of France, and the Royal Society of Laterature awarded him its medal as "princeps litteraturae Sanscritae" was knighted in 1833 He died in London, May 13, 1836, and was interied at the Chapel in Portland town 1

<sup>1</sup> For a list of his oriental works and other particulars, see Asiatic Journal, 1836, pp 165 71, Gentleman's Magazine, 1836 (pt 11, pp 67 8), 1808 (pt 11, p 922), Annual Register for 1836, Alumni Oxonienses, 1888, Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors, 1816, Dictionary of National Biography, Centenary Volumes of the Assatic -Society of Bengal, Letters in the Journal of American Oriental Society, 1880, vol x, Preface to Sir William Jones's Cakuntala, and to Wilkins' Sanscrit Grammar, Notice of the Life of H T Colebrooke, by his son, p 7 Wilkins' translation of the Bhagabadgītā (1785) with an introductory

To such a great scholar Bengal owes the establishment of the first vernacular printing press 1

The Preface to Hallied's Craumer acts forth some in teresting details a to the difficulties which Wilkins had to overcome and as to how with

Extract from the Pref co to Halbed's Gramm indicating the difficulties of print had to overcome and as to how with patient preseverance he ultimately auc ecoded. Public entirety it says must be strongly excited by the

beautiful characters which are displayed in the following work and although my attempt may be decimed incomplete or unworths I notice the book itself will always bear an intrinsic value from its containing as extra ordinary an instance of machanic abilities as has perhaps over appeared. That the Bengal letter is very difficult to be imitated in steel will be readily allowed by any person who shall examine the intricacies of the stroke the unequal length and aize of the characters and the variety of their positions and combinations. It was no easy talk to procure a writer accurate enough to prepare an alphabet of similar and proportionate body throughout and with that symmetrial exactness which is necessary to the ce\_ularity and neatness of a fount. Mr Bolts (who is supposed to be well versed in this language) attempted to fabricate a set of types for it with the assistance of the ablest artist in London. But he ha egregion h failed in executing even the easie t part or the primary alphabet of which he has published a specimen there is no reason to suppose that

letter by Warren H vil gu. 800 C i Rer. ol. iii 23 $\pm$ 1 80to Karr Selection from the Calcula G etc. I 130

About th first I troduction of printing in the East see D. Garnetts paper read before the Second I ternational Library Confere ca (Tru. ctions of P occed so of the Second I ternational Library Conference held in London, 1807. London 1808.)

project, when completed, would have advanced beyond the normal state of imperfection to which new inventions are constantly exposed. The alvice and even the solicitation of the Governor-General prevailed upon upon Mr Wilkins, a gentleman who has been some years in the India Company's Civil Service in Bengil, to undertake a set of Bengali types. He did and his success has exceeded every expectation. In a country so remote from Enropean artists, he has been obliged to charge himself with all the various occupations of the Metallurgist, the Engineer, the Founder, and the Printer To the merit of invention he was compelled to add the application of personal labour With a laptdity unknown in Europe, he surmounted all obstacles which necessarily clog the first rudiments of a difficult art as well as the disadvantages of solitary experiment, and has thus singly on the first effort exhibited his work in a state of perfection which in every part of the world has appeared to require the united improvements of different projectors and the gradual polish of successive ages "1

It must be remembered that these labours of Wilkins did not end merely in the temporary and isolated bene-

The significance and importance of Wilkins' work to Bengali lite rature fit of printing a grammar but had far deeper and more wide-reaching effects for Wilkins had taken care that his work should produce lasting

results He had taught the art with great care to his Bengali assistant, one Panchanan, a blacksmith by caste,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Preface pp xxiii iv See also the letter of George Perry to Mr Nicols, the printer, dated Onlentta October 1 1783, quoted in the Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors, 1816, p 385. This press cannot be traced but Marshman (History of Serampore Mission, vol. 1) says that it was set up by one Mr Andrews, a bookseller

whom later on providence brought to Srirampur in search of work just at the time when Carey and his collea gues were in despair for a fount of Sanscrit and veina enlar types. Pauchauan and his associates to whom he had communicated his art succeeded in course of time in concentrating it in Bengal.

Halhed's Grammar possesses a peculiar interest for us as being one of the earliest efforts Halbeds Grammer: to study the language in a scientific its interest and value. way Halhed himself is perfectly conscious of the difficulties of such a study and says in the Preface (n xix) The path which I have attempted to clear was never before trodden. It was necessary that I should make my own choice of the course to be nursued and of the landmarks to be set up for the guidance of future travellers \* But barring this antiquarian interest it can hardly be expected to possess any other value to us. It was obviously written f r the benefit of the Europeans who wanted to study the foreign vernacular 5 and as such it was bound to be written entirely from their standpoint. Of course it is well to study the spirit with which foreigners

See Memor R lative t the the Tra at it is of the Sacred Scriptures t the Lasy granfilm E at at Secompore by J. Marahman 1810; too Marahman II et of Secompore Mission, vol. t.

The curious motto prefixed to the book mays

हेलागताश्री पढाहर म पण्ड नचयात्त्वः व्यक्तिग्रद्धक क्यान प्रकृतम् अस्या

O rey (knowledges t ha derived much h lp i writig his Bengeli Gramm (1801) f o'n Halbed work; see Prof co to Carey a Gramma (181 Ed 1831); see also E Carey Lf f Carey p. 237

On t title page we read

বে ব্যক্তির প্রথ হৈ কিরিবিনান্ত্রাক জিলতে হালেহজুনী। approach our language, but as a proneer work and as one intended for mere beginners, uninitiated into the language, its value is greatly diminished Even a cursory glance at the contents will show that the arrangement and division of the subject-matter is made chiefly on the plan of English grammars, beginning with the Elements (Chip I), proceeding with Substantives (Chap II), Pronouns (Chap III), Verbs (Chap IV), Words denoting Attributes and Relations (Chap V), Numerals (Chap VI) and ending with a brief discus-Syntax (Chap VII), Orthography and Verof sification (Chap VIII) 1 The rules laid down more or less general and elementary, but some attempt is made to arrive at broad underlying principles, ala somewhat tentative and impressionist though in fashion The arrangement is as comprehensive as possible but the author is scrupulously minute in his insertiou of examples to every rule and is rather prolix in his observations upon the general grammar One merit of the book consists, however, in the fact that Halhed was fully alive to the intimate relation of Bengali to Sanscrit, "of which language" he says "I have thought necessary to include within my design such of grammatical principles as might throw a direct or even a collateral light on those of the Bengalese wished to obviate the recurrence of such erroenous opinions as may have been formed by the few Europeans who have hitherto studied the Bengalese, none

<sup>1</sup> But it is curious to note that \$\overline{\pi}\$ is included in the list of consonants. The orthography seems to have been yet unsettled and the border line between colloquial and literary larguage seems to have been crossed very often, possibly owing to the difficulty of a foregner, however studious, in entering into the genius of an alien tongue.

of them have traced ats connections with Sanscrit and therefore I conclude their systems imperfect '(Picface p xix et seq ) Of course adherence to Sanscrit is in dispensable in writing a Bongali grommar but Hallied a work more or less presents Bengali as derived exclusively from its parent Sansent He remarks at some length on the exceedingly corrupt state of the dislect of the time1 and says that a grammar of the pure Ben gal dialost cannot be expected to convey a thorough idea of the miodorn pargon of the kingdom. The many political revolutions it has sustained have greatly impaired the simplicity of the language and a long communication with the men of different religions countries and manners has condered foreurn words in some degree fumiliar to a Beugal car The Mahometans have for the most part introduced such terms as relate to the functions of their own religion or the exercise of their own laws and government the Por togese have supplied them with appellation of some European arts and inventions and in the environs of such foreign colony the idioms of the native Bengalese is the transfers who have settled there Upon the same principle since the influence of the British nation has superseded that of its former conquerors many terms of British derivation have been naturalised into the Bengal vocabulary '

It cannot be doubted for a moment that the book holds a high place as one of the earliest of a series of

There will be found ourious appendix to this book contail is a petition replet with foreign expressions, showing how far modern Bengali had been forced to d buso the purity of its dilect by the necessity of educating little to the Mommedan rulers in the Fred ce t his Foodbalary Forster amiliarly speaks of studiously avoiding Ferrian or Arabick pedantisms

attempts, valuable even to the present day, to study the vernacular scientifically, but if we leave aside this antiquamun and scientific interest, it can haidly be expected to come within litera we proper To the historian of literat re, how ver, it is valuable, as most of these pioneer works ere, for affording one of the earliest links in the revived study of the language itself

Other specimens of early printing

Imper Code in Ben gali by J. Duncan

Cornwillia Code in B ngali by H Forster

We piss over other specimens of early printing which the exigencies of administrative changes and t e establishment of the Supreme Court (1774) brought into Among these are to be existence found the Impey Code in Bengali,1 translated by Jonathan which was

Dancan, afterwards Governor of Bombav, and printed at the "Company's Press" in 1785, and the famous Cornwall s Code of 1793 2 which was translated by H P "a merchant on the Bengal Establishment", of whom we shall have occasion to speak beierfter. It was likewise printed at the Government Piess Lut from an improved fount 3 We read of two other early publications in the Catalogue of Bengali Works in the British Museum 4

<sup>1</sup> Regulations for the Administration of Justice in the Court of the Dewance Adaulat, passed in Council, the 5th July, 1785, with a Bencals Translation by Jonathan Duncan, Colcutta, 1785 pp 215, 31

Phe title page savs তীধুও নশ্ব গ্রহরি ছেনারল বাহাগ্রেব কৌনদেলের ১৭৯৩ সালের ভাবৎ জাইন। ভাষা নশ্ব গ্ৰণ্ব বালাহ্রের হজুব কৌণ্নেনেব আঞাতে মুদ্রাহিত হইল। ১৭৯৩। Edition in 1826

<sup>&</sup>quot;It is to this fount that Carev alludes, and it continued to be the standard of typozraphy till it was superseded by the smaller and ne terfornt at Scrampore" Marshman, Life and Times of Carey, Maish man and Ward 1859, vol 1 p 71

Blumhardt, Catalogue of Bengali Books in the British Museum, p 8

vix., (a) Bengal translation (by N B Edmonstone) of Regulations, otc., by N B Edmonstone.

Regulations for the administration of Justice in the Fonzdary Criminal Courts in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, passed by the Governor General in Council on the 3rd December 1790 Caloutta 1791 (b) Bengal Translation (by N B Edmonstone) of the Regulations for the guidance of the Magistrates passed by the Governor General in Council in the Revenno Department on the 18th May 1792 with supplementary enactments Calcutta, 1792

The next important work in our survey is Forstor's Forst

subject.1

70

Henry Pitts Forster born in 1701 of whose early
Henry Pitts Forster life little seems to be known,
1701 lets entered Bengal Service of the Com
pany on August 7 1783 and rose to be the Collector of
Tipperah in 1793 and Registrar of the Dewünt 'Adslat
of the 24 Parganss in 1794 In 1803-04, he was
employed at the Calcutta Mint of which he rose to be the

Carry based his famous Dictionarys of the Bengel Language (1815-1825) the source of all dictionaries of later times, on Forstor's Focabulary The first Bengell dictionary is, of coarse Mancel da Assumpçad's Focabulario in Portuguese which has been already mentioned.

The Dictionary of National Biography gives the hypothetical date of 1700 with a quary But it appears from the obituary notices in the Calcutta Georgement Gravite of 1815 (Sep 14) and in the Calcutta Monthly Journal for September 1815 (p. 285) that Forster was aged that the time of his docth. In that case his birth-date would be 1701 which is here adouted.

3 The date of publication given in Romgati Systatritia, Bangabhasa O Sahitya Bisayak Prastab, 3rd Fd., p. 192 is 1801 which is clearly erroncous. The date given in Dinesh Chandra Sen Hist ru of Bengali Language and Literature, 1911, p 868 (where the book 14 described as "Bengali Dictionary by Forster, a Civilian and Sanskrit Scholar") is 1719 which seems to be un obvious mistale or misprint for 1799 The account given in this latter work is mainly based on Rev J Long's Catalogue, but Long's book was compiled not till 1855 and contains more than one maccurate statement notification in the Calcutta Galette, dated August 26, 1802, in which "Mr Forster has the pleasure to acquaint the subscribers of his Bengalee Vocabulary, that the second part is entirely printed off, and will be ready for delivery all in the present month of August and as he has more than doubled the size of the work beyond what he engaged, he hopes this will be admitted as a sufficient excuse for the delay in the publication" (Seton Karr, Selections from Calcutta Gazette, vol m, p 561) It is clear that the work was published in two instalments in 1799 and 1802.

Forster, Senior Merchant on the Bengal Establish ment.'1 It is evident from the lengthy preface to this work as well as to that of Halhed that these early works were undertaken not un literary but also un political grounds Bengali at this time ufficially as well as popul barly, was an unrecognised vernacular, and Furster rightly insists upon the absurdity and inconvenience of continuing the use of Person in courts of law (see Preface to Focaba lary) It was thus due to the efforts of Halhed and Forster seconded among Europeans by Carey and the Srirampur missionaries and among Bengalis by Ram Muhan Ray and his friends, that Bengali nut unly became the official language of the Presidency but it now ranks as one of the most prolific literary languages of India One of the greatest difficulty however under which all compilers in this period had to labour and to which Forster himself as his preface shows, was fully alive, was the exceedingly corrupt state of the language in its current dialect' form There was no standard literature, or if there had been one it was long forgotten or was not so widely known as to ensure fixity of forms and expressions 2 This corruption

Pri ted at Calcutta from the Press of Ferris and Co. 1799 Dedicated to Thomas Graham Esqr. dated December 15 1790. A copy of this work will be conveniently found in the Calcutta Imperial Library.

As the various quotations by way of illustration in Halbed a G anasar shows, he was not aware of the existence of more than half a dozen old Bengali works. He takes his passages mostly from Mahābkārut (from which he gires a lengthy quotation at pp. 37-42) Rāsayes and the various works of Bhirat-chandra, still in vogue, cape, lailly his Bulyārandar Printing there was hardly any and books mostly in mamus:ripfa were not easily procurable. It is also notable that Halbed confines himself exclud ely to examples taken from Poetry and there is not a single proce quotation in his waks. I might observe "he writes "that Bengall is at present in the same state with Greece before the time of Thucyddes when Poetry was the however, was confined principally to revenue and judicial terms, and the more common and daily shifting colloquial expressions. But the greatest difficulty was felt in orthography which was in a hop hady chaotic state, in these ante-printing days "There mover having been " says Forster, " a native Bong dee gramm irran nor indeed my author of note. who might be considered as a standard, the orthography has consequently never been fixed, and being current over an extensive country and among in illiterate people, almost every word has been and continues in one district or other to be variously spelt, and not infrequently so disguised as to render it difficult to recognise it, when met in its genium form in Songskut In such eases, I have not scrupled to adopt Songskiit orthography, unless I found the majority of the people whom I consulted, concut in any particular vitated mode of spelling it " In spite of these difficulties, however, Forster succeeded in compiling one of the most valuable and painstaking lexicon of the language ever published, and the enlogy of Marshman that Forster was the "most emment Bengali scholar till the appearance of Di Carey" is fully justified

The year in which Forster's Tocabilary was published saw another memorable but at that time an apparently unimportant event the landing of a band of missionaries on the banks of the Ganges and the starting of a mission at Śiāiāmpur A year later, the Fort William College

only style to which authors applied themselves and studied prose was utterly unknown" The biographer of Di Carey relates how (Smith, op cit p 202) when Carey visited Nadījā, not many years ago the illustrious centre of Bengah literature, "he could not discover more than 40 separate works all in manuscripts, as the whole literature of 30,000,000 of people up to that time"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marshman, Life and Times of Carcy etc., vol. 1, p. 71

wa estable hed at Calentia for impairing knowledge of the vernaculars to young civilian. With the Mission as its centre and the Fort William College a its public forum, Bengali language entered upon a new plant of devel innest, litherto undreasat of Forst r was no doubt, followed by a hand of cornect civilian workers of whom the names of J F Illerton and Sir Grave C Haughton are the most well-known set with the mis ionage in the field who, for years to come had made education of the people and cultivate n of the vernacular their own recular i rotince earlier nork wa columnia and a fresh impetus wa given to the vernacular literature The experimental stage we not set over but what was derulton, sin mode and slipshod became regular un limbers and exeternation and for several years till the foundation of the Hindu College and the emergence of a new land funters the lasters of Bengali literature is closely bound up with the labours

Friringer Mission of the missonance and school masters and especially of the brotherhood at Striamper, accounted with the names of Carey Marshman and Ward whose devotion extrestives and philanthropic partners cannot be too highly spoken of

Ellerton wrot his works before 1400 and therefore strictly speaking belongs to the chapter But Flierton's Bible translations were not published until probably 1819 so an account of him will be found in the next chapter under the Bible translations of the Selection metalographs.

## CHAPTER IV

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## WILLIAM CAREY AND SRIRAMPUR MISSION.

Of the missionary movements which give an early impetus to Bengah language and literature, the foremost place has been given to the fraternity of the famous Siīrāmpur Mission, which was started by Carey, Maishman and Ward but of which the moving spirit was William Carey

William Carey, the son of a weaver and himself a village shoe-maker till the age of twenty-William Cares eight, was born on August 17, 1761  $(1761\ 1834)$ in the village of Paulesbury, situated in the very midland of England, in the heart of the district which not only produced Birth and early life Shakespeare and cherished Cowper but which also fostered Wyclif and Hooker, Fox and Bunyan But village-life in those days was far from being elysian and the destiny of the cottagei, with poverty and sore toil staring him in the face, was cheerless enough Buried in an obscure village, the eldest of a family of five children, young Carey seemed to be boin to such a lot, the English labourer's lot of five shillings a week and the poorhouse in sickness and old age. At the age of sixteen he was an appientice to the shoe-maker's trade—a trade of which however he was never ashamed 1

It would be silly in me to pretend to recollect all the shoes I made I was accounted a very good workman (Letter to Ryland) There is no inconsistency between this and his famous retort to the general officer who inquired of one of the aides de camp, when dining with the Marquis of Hastings, whether Dr Carey had not once

and which linked bim to the earliest missionaries of Alexandria, of Asia Minur and of Ganl some of whom were shoe-makers, and to a succession of scholars and divines, poets and critics, reformers and philanthromats who had used the shoe-makers life to become illustrious The picture of ynning Carey keeping school by day preaching on Sundays and cobling or making shoes by night, would remind one very forcibly of Carlyle's pacture of George Fox in his Sartor Resartus But all this time in poverty that would have very soon crushed the spirit of an ordinary man he went on with his studies although books were rare in those days and not easy to be begged ar borrowed by a country boy It is remarkable that his taste inclined him to books of travel adventure history and natural science to the exculsion of novels plays and books on religious subjects. The religious earnestness which marked his later life had not yet dawned and lie had been bitherto a stranger to the gospel of Christ. A remarkable change took place in his life about his eighteenth year He joined the small church which was formed at Hackleton and afterwards the Baptist congregation at Moulton where he became a pastor His mind was at this time occupied in acquiring the learned languages and almost every branch of useful knowledge

His missionary

It was about this time that his great thought about the practicability and importance of a mission abroad took

definite shape in his mind. His extensive study of geography and books of travel convinced bim painfully of the fact that a very small portion of the buman race had yet possessed any knowledge of Christ and bis

been a shoe-maker "No, Sir only a cobler?" (quoted in Dr Calross's William Cares)

religion. In order to impress his brethern with his new ider, he wrote and published to Legens who the Obligations of the Christians for the Corners of the Hestiens in which the Religious State of Different Notes + if the World, the Sieces of Torrer Intertakting, are in the deteil by William Carer" (1792) This was the both of England's foreign Mission in Bengalt for Carey would not remain alle until his project had been put into practice. At last, at a meeting of the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist Chinches held at Kettering (Northampton) on the October 2, 1792, a Baptist Missionary Society was strited on a humble scale for propagating the gospel Carey set out for India on June 13, 1793. At first he had desired to go to Sets out for India, Tahifi or West America At this time, however, he met John Thomis, a medical evangelist, who had made two voyages to India and had some experience of Bengal - It was Thomas who directed Carey to Bengal

It must not be supposed, however, that the missionary spirit was unknown in Carey's time or that India was never before visited by the missionary activity. On the contrary, many great names and great though mistaken movements will occur to the memory of every reader of Church history. Not to go far back to the missionary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Carey, however, was not the first English missionary to Bengal this was one Mr Clarke (see Hyde, Parochial Annals of Bengal, p 213)

<sup>2</sup> See C. B. Lewis, Life of John Thomas (1873). Also, Smith, on cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See C B Lewis, Life of John Thomas (1873) Also Smith, op cit p 41

For details about the history of Christian Missions of which literature is vast, the following books may be conveniently consulted, Brown's History of Missions, Kaye's History of Christianity in India, Marshall's Christian Missions, Hough's Christianity in India, Sherring's Protestant Mission in India, and Marshman's History of the Scrampore Mission

zeal of Francis Vavier or of the Minravian hrotherhood in the East we find for the greater part of the 18th century (1707 to 1798) the Coast Mission (as it was called) carrying on its missionary work in South India with Tranquebar as its centre. At one timo it was a very powerfol movement carried on by the Lutherans whom from Zeingenhalg to Schwartz. Dr. Francke had trained at Halle and Frederick IV of Denmark had send forth to its India Company's settlement in the South but when Carey landed, the Coast Mission partly on account of the wars between the English and the French was almost in a state of manition. To Rongal there was, we have seen, Roman Catholio Mission but as yet no Pretestant Mission from England. The only well known missionary who came to Bengal before Carey, was kier

John Zachariah Klermander 1 28 (d. 1799) and The Swede 1 the "Mammon' of Hicky's Ga\_ette whom Clive in 1758 had brought to Calcutta where

James Long's Handbook to Reagel Missions will also be found useful, with reference to the general educational activity of the missionaries. Daff's India and Indian Missions and his articles in the earlier volumes of the Oslowit Review may also be consulted. On the Missions in the Senth, literature in vast. One may however consult with advantage Lettre Edifficative et Charmese écrites de Missions Etra gères 20 vols. 1780-80 vols xxx specially refer to India; Lacroze Historie du Christia ima des Indes 2 vols. 1769; Dertrand, La Mission du Mai 7 vols. 1847; Osloridge Life and Lettres of St. Frances Lettre For a fuller bibliography on this subject see A. O Burnell, A Tentative List of Books and Miss relating to the History of the Portuguese in India Managiore 1850

See Cal. Rer 1817 vol viii pp. 124-184. Also Marshman History of Bernampors Histors, vol. 1, p. 20, et seq. Once calls Klern der a Cerman (E. Carey Hemoirs of Carey p. 449) See Marshman Christian Historius, vol. 1, p. 278. For Klernander see Bengal Chiluary p. 34 et seq. Carne Lices of Eminent Historiaries; deiatic Journal, vol. xv. 1834; W. H. Carny Oriental Christian Biography pp. 193 et seq.; Hyde. 1.

he theneeforth lived, meeting young Carey subsequently at Bandel at the great age of eighty-four. But Kremander could not wield any influence on the masses and had no literary pretensions whatever, for although he started a native school and built a Church at his own cost, he was, in the first place, rather a missionary to the Portuguese and their descendants who were nominal Christians of the lowest Romanist type and, in the next place, Kremander could never converse in Bengali or Hindustham and never cared to mix freely with the people of the country. Practically his work had made only the slightest impression and it was no wonder therefore that Carey could find no trace of his work among the people even six years after his death.

The condition of the clergy at this time, however, and their public and private morals did not in any way make

The character of the clergy and the opposition of the East India Company to Christian Missions

them attractive to or influential with the people of this country. It is wellknown that the East India Company not only adopted a policy of perfect neutrality towards the religious of

India and never attempted to preach their religion themselves but they also threw every possible obstacle in the way of the missionaries who wanted to settle in their territories. The ostensible ground for this aggressive spirit of discouragement was political but the real reasons are thus given by a writer in the Calcutta

Parochial Annals of Bengal The Monumental Register by M DeRozario (1815) p 109 113, Busteed, Echoes from Old Calcutta, 1908, Cotton, Calcutta Past and Present, John Zachariah Kiernander (a pamphlet), Cal Bap Miss Press, 1877, etc

Of Kiernander's clerical convert, Bento de Silvestre alias de Souza and his contribution to Bengali, mention has already been made at p 77-78

Recier (1859) The Missionary was the interloper par excellence, and the hate of a camel for a horse of a snake for a mongoose was feeblo when compared with the hate of the Anglo-Indian for the Interloper Partly from his training partly from the first circumstances of the conquest the Anglo-Indian official regarded India as his property his peculium. An interloper was therefore in his eyes little better than a thief a man who nudersold lum, interrupted his profits and impaired his exclusive authority over the population. With the instinct, which comes of self-defence he saw that the Missionary was the most dangerous of interlopers. Veither the character of the early founders of the British Empire as a body nor that of the clergy before the Srirampur mission was such as to mentre respect for their religion and of the clargy as a class the Governor General officially wrote t the Court of Directors as late as 1795 Our clergy in Bengal with some exceptions are not respectable characters?

Although Carey and his fellow missionary were allowed to enter Calcutta (November 11 1793) without opposition indeed without notice (so obscure they were) yet under the existing conditions of things he had to preach his religion for several years almost like Attempts at cttlea thief in constant fear of being deported to England Quite destitute in Calcutta he had no definite plan for the future The congregation at home were too poor to give him any assistance nor could they influence the authorities in England to allow him to settle down pencalally as a missionary for the latter would instantly refuse to listen to a handful of country no-bodies the chief among whom was a shoe-maker. After several fruitless attempts to settle down Carey at last succeeded in obtaining the situation of an assistant in charge of some

indigo factories at Madnābatī, 30 miles noith of Maldah, the scene of John Ellerton's labours. All these years, however, the idea of translating the

Six years in North
Bible and pleaching in the language

of the people was even present his mind As soon as he could settle down,

he applied himself to the study of Bengali, which, his biographer tells us, the indefatigable scholar had already begun during the voyage, and of which the first indication is given by an entry in his journal two

Carey's efforts to study Bengalı

months after he had landed "This day" he writes "finished the correction of the first chapter of Genesis, which

rendered into very good Bengali"1 savs is The Munsi of Bengali teacher referred to was one Ram Basn who not only taught the language to Carey but also had been of much help to the poor missionary during the years of uncertainty and struggle at the outset of his The greatest difficulty, however, which puzzled him, as a foreigner, in learning the language relates to the unsettled state of its forms and expressions, of its grammai and oithography and a vast difference seemed to him to exist between the literary language and its corrupt colloquial and dialectal forms. Thus he speaks with a naivete characteristic of himself in a letter, "The language dated October 2, 1795 spoken by the natives of this part, though Bengali, IS so different from the language itself (?) that I can preach an hour with tolerable freedom so as that all who speak the language or can read or write, understand me perfectly yet the poor labouring people can understand me little "2

<sup>1</sup> Smith, op, cit p 61, Eustace Carey, Memoirs of William Carey, p 119

E Carev, op cit p 242, Smith, op cit p 72

Indeed, a foreigner always finds it hard work to obtain in a year the endless variety of its idioni and the niceties of pronnneiation but Caroy certainly was very far from night when he says further that although the language is rich beautiful, and expressive it has got scarcely a large vocabulary in use about religion and kindred subjects 1 The whole trend of ancient or pri British Bengali literature which is religious in subject will prove the inappropriateness of this hasty statement. The half pitying and half-contemptuous tone in which Carey and his mission ary colleagues eneal, of our forefathers as so many beathens or semi barbarians? no doubt raises our smile today, but they in all sincerity, born of religious enthumasm really thought in this way. It is true indeed that there was a partial decadence of religious life and ideals in the country during the last years of the Mohaminedau rule yet Carey and his colleagues in spite of their catholicity and tolerance could never detect the signs of religious life which could produce the noblest songs of Rum practid From the earliest times to the days of Ram mohau Ray and even to the present day, religion had as we have already stated a great influence on Bengali literature. The great personality of Chaitanya and his disciples, the songs of the Baysnah poets, breathing as they do the purest language of noetry and devotion-all indicate what charm religion had always possessed for the people and their literature. The fact was making every possible allowance to missionary fanati cum that Carey as he himself admits could lay his band npon very fow ancient Bengali books and manuscripts

See his letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, quoted in E. Carey op cut p. 230

He speaks of this country as one devoted to the service of Satan a d immersed in the awful ignorance of heathenness. E. Carey on cit p. 204.

Smith op. cit p. 202

and that with the decry of learning and culture in Bengal, the vernacular literature had come to be neglected, and for some time it had practically become non-existent. It was only natural, therefore, for these European scholars from Halhed to Yates, who were not aware of the existence of more than half a dozen Bengali works, to indulge in such sweeping and hasty statements.

In his study of Bengah, Carey found out very early that without the classical Sanserit, which he always regarded as "the parent of nearly all the colloquial dialects of India", he could neither master its Bengah offshoot nor enrich that vernacular with effective literary forms and combinations. It one must borrow, one might go to the literatures of Europe for themes and methods but the expression must always be indigenous. It is significant indeed that all the early Bengah writers from Carey to Bidyāsāgar, whose writings have helped to ereate for us the Bengah prose, were

learned in the Sanserit language, Sanscrit and its effect and were therefore always ready to avail themselves of the rich treasures of forms and expressions which that classical language afforded Carey applied himself to Sausent with so much industry that as early as April 1796 we find him writing home that he had made enough progress in the language to read the Mahābhārat, and that in 1798 he had compiled a Sanscrit grammar and the considerable portion of a Sanscrit-English dictional y 2 It must be remembered that learning and literature were much patronised in those days and the first step taken by the government towards the education of the native-boin subjects was inspired by the desire for the promotion of Sanscrit scholarship

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Sanscrit Grammar (1806)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See also his letter to Sutcliffe, June 16, 1798, quoted in E Carey's op cit p 323

After six years in North Bengal as a missionary scholar and indigo-planter Carey found that a few in inguificant villages of two or three dozen mind walled cottages hardly afforded sufficient scope for his nussionary work. He was forming the project of a Mission Settle

Work at Madnabati

ment on the Moravian model but in 1709 the indigo works at Madusbati had to be given up. Carey had been

thinking of taking another small indigo factors in the neighbourhood when he learned that he was soon to be joined in his missionary work by four colleagues from

Reinf ent from E gland, England The expected re-inforcement consisted of Joshua Marshman and his wife William Ward Diniel

Brunslon, and William Grant The original intention was to proceed to Maldah and settle with Carej at Malnabati They arrived off Calentia on October 12 1700 in an American ship but instead of landing they proceeded to Strampur where they could be safe under the protection of the Danish flag. Their object in

Srintmpur why chosen as a mission centre. choosing Sririmpur as a mission centre is thus given by Carey <sup>2</sup> At Serumpore we can settle as missiona

ries, which is not allowed here and the great ends of the mission particularly the printing of the Scriptures seem unch more likely to be answered in that situation. In that part of the country inhabitants are far more numerous than in this and other missionaries may be there permitted to join us which here it seems they will not. In the beginning of the last century Strampur was a kind of Aliana—a city of rofuge and the persecuted missionaries.

For a sketch of Brunadou a life see W H Carcy Oriental Christian Biography vol. 1, pp. 170-72. could surely do no better than seek its protection for the purposes of their mission In selecting this city instead of any other, they did what was best under the circumstances "Had we stayed at Mudnabutty or its vicinity" Carey wrote "it is a great wonder we could have set up our press, Government would have suspected us, though without reason to do so and would, in all probability, have prevented us from printing, the difficulty of procuring proper materials would also have been almost insuperable "I Simmpul is situated in one of the lichest and most densely peopled tracts in Bengal, very close to the metropolis, and it was here that the earliest European factories in Bengal were established, the Danes planting themselves at Siliampui, the French at Chandan-nagai, the Dutch at Chinsurah, the English at Hugh, and the Portuguese at Bandel

Two of the missionaires speedily fell victims to the

Carey leaves North Bengal and joins Marshman and Ward at Srīrāmpur (1800) climate Maishman and Waid, whose names are indissolubly linked with that of Carey, who had taken up his residence with them on January

16, 1800, resolved to start systematic mission-work, forming a brotherhood somewhat on the idea of the

The Srīrāmpur Mission started

Pentecostal Church The mission in its disinterestedness, its lofty aims, and its kindly commonsense deserves

sympathetic study The spirit which animated them is to be clearly seen in the Form of Agreement, drawn up by them, which exhibits the high aims, the simple and disinterested life of work to which the Siñampur biethern bound themselves from the beginning. This earnest

<sup>1</sup> E Carey, op cit p 379 80

philanthropy and self sacrifice never failed to make an impression upon the hearts of the people and this is one of the reasons why the Sritampur mission hal been able to wield an enormous influence in the country

Occ of the principles which regulated the whole course of the Mission was that a missionary must consider him self as one of the companions and equals of the people to whom he had been sent and that he must endeavour to gain a thorough knowledge of those among whom he laboured in their modes of thinking and feeling this was what brought them nearer to the people and gained their confidence. They had started a school nt Srimmpur as early as May 1 1800. In their letter to the Society at home we find the missionance writing in October 10 There appears to be a growing familiarity between us and the natives. They receive our printed papers with the greatest eagerness and we cannot dooht but that they are pretty extensively read '1 Without this sympathy self-denial and high motives of philaethropy and love they would not have been able to attract the people and mould their life and thought in the way they had done

Of the two fellow workers of Carev Joshua Marshman, son of a weaver and for sometime (1768-1837)

April 20 1768 3 After much struggle and privation he succeeded in obtaining the mastership of a school in

E Carer op. c 4, p. 100.

For more details see Marshman History of Serempors II islos, 2 vols (1849); Bengal Chilarry pp 340-43; Dict. f M iso 1 Biography; W II Carey Ormaid Christian Biography vol. iii pp 2.7 63

Bustol, and while living there he was baptised and volunteered to go out to India as an assistant to Carey He was a man not only of great mental capacity, endowed with what the Scotch call "a long head", but also had fine administrative ability which kept the missionary

William Ward, (1769 1823) community in perfect order William Ward, though inferior in intellectual equipment, was a man of great

practical ability and sound common-sense He was boin at Derby on October 20, 1769 1 The son of a builder, he had received some education and had been apprenticed to a printer. He rose to the position of the editor of the Derby Mercury and afterwards of a newspaper in Hull It was at Hull five years before he came out to India, Carey had met Ward and said to him "If the Lord bless us, we shall want a person of your business to enable us to print the Scriptures I hope you will come after us" He joined the Church in 1796 and came out to India in 1799 at the invitation of Di Carey His work like that of Marshman, from 1800, was connected, if not identified, with that of the Mission at Siliampui Ward, however, had very little connexion with Bengali literature2 except indirectly, much less than Carey and Marshman, to whom, as to no other missionary or foreign writer, the country owes a deep debt of obligation for furthering the cause of education and indirectly of modern Bengali prose

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For more details, see Hist of Scrampore Mission Also Samuel Stennett, Memoirs of the Life of William Ward (1825), Bengal Obituary, pp 343 45, Dict of National Biogr Memoir of Ward, Philadelphia, Simpson's Life prefixed to Ward on Hindus, W H Carey, Orient Christ Biograph vol 11, pp 16 et seq

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ward, says Carey, could speak Bengalı a little (E Carey, op cit p 424) Ward, however, wrote some tracts in Bengalı which will be noticed hereafter

One of the earliest works that the Mission accomplished

was the printing of the New Testa-Printing of the ment in Bengali on Feb 7 1801

Bergall Dible 1801 ment in Bengali on Feb 7 1801
after a labour of nino months and
of the Old Testament between 1802 and 1809 Carey

of the Old Testament between 1802 and 1800 Carey while at Aladahbatt had completed the translation of the greater portion of the Bible by the year 1798 with the exception of the historical books from Joshna to Job <sup>2</sup> He had gone to Calcutta to obtain the estimates of printing but had found it beyond his slender means—for the cost of printing—10 000 copies—was—estimated—at—nearly

History of its printing

Rs. 437:0° To have got it printed in England was well night impractic able for he had found that each

Proface to the Serampore Lett is (1800-1810) ed. by L and N Williams with a introductory memoir by Thou. Wright; also see Marshman History of Serampore II succe But see Bengal Ob teerly pp. 338

He had begun the translation as soon as he could fairly learn the langu ge We find him writing to Butcliffe only a year after his arrival (Aug 9, 1"94) "The language (of Bengali) is copious and I think beautiful. I begin to converse in it a little I intend to send you s copy of Genesia, Matthew Mark and James in Bengali; with a small vocabulary and grammar of the language in manuscripts, of my own composition (B Carey op cut p. 195) On July 17 1790 he writes to Fuller that shmost all the Pentateuch and the New Testsment are now completed (this p 200) By 1799 almost the whole of the Bible was translated. It is customary to attribute the authorship of the entire Bengali Bible to Carey but from the report of the work given by him (bid p 345, Lette to Fullor dated July 17 1'09) we find that in the first version, Fountain (d Aug 1800) and Thomas helped him much Fountain translated I and 2 Kings. Joshua, Judges, Buth, I and 2 Samusl and 2 Chronicles ; while Thomas undertook lighthew Mark (il x) Luke and James. All the rest was Carey's own as well as the whole correction. The correction, h sometimes rendered the original version into quite a new work especially in the case of Thomas s translation which was very i cor rect and imperfect (feld p 223; Periodical Accounts vol. 1 pp 20-91)

<sup>\*</sup> E. Carey op cit p. 277 and also p. 809; see also p. 239

punch would cost a guinea a piece. After several fruitless attempts, when the project had appeared almost incapable of accomplishment, Cuey saw a wooden punting piess advertised in Calcutta for £10 He at once purchased it at Rs 400 and set it up at Madnabati It was from this old press, subsequently removed to Sinampur that the first edition of the Bengali New Testament was printed 1 The types were set with the knowledge of a first-rate printer Waid with lns own hand, assisted bv by Carey's son, Felix <sup>2</sup> The second edition

<sup>2</sup> If we leave aside Ellerton's New Testament and Thomas's version of Genesis and other books of the Bible (1791), this is the first effort at an entire translation of the Bible into Bengali Ellerton's version, however, was not published till 1820, and Thomas himself got much help from Carey in his translation

Of John F Ellerton (1768 1820), nothing much is known except that he was an indigo planter and was the first to establish a Bengali school in Maldah He wrote (1) শুল সুসাচাৰ মাডিউ ৰচিড | Calcutta 1819

John F Ellerton (1768 1820) (2) মগল সমাচাৰ যোহন বচিত। Calcutta 1819 in Beugrli and English (3) জগন্তাৰক প্ৰভূ বিশু খুঁটুৰ মগল ননাচাৰ I or the New Testament, translated by J F Ellerton, Calcutta 1820, pp 993 This last mentioned work, though discontinued for

a time on learning that Carey was engaged on a similar work was at last printed by the Calcutta Bible Society Scethe Fifteenth Report of the Bitish and Foreign Bible Soc London 1819, pp 214 and 319, 1818, App p 24 (4) & facility attacks with a factor of the Greation of the World and of the First Age, in the form of a dialogue between a master and his pupil, Calcutta 1820 In Cal Rev vol viii, 1850, this work is probably referred to as & factor of Rev 1850 The Bengal Obstuary (1851) p 144 Blumhardt, Catalogue For Thomas, see Life of John Thomas by C B Lewis (1873) Tho books of the Old Testament, as printed by the Serampore Press (18019) are in 4 vols viz, 1 Pentatench, 1801, 2 Joshua Esther, 1809, 3 Job-Song of Solomon, 1804, 4 Isiah Malachi, 1805 According to the Serampore Memons, however, the correct dates of publication are

<sup>1</sup> Smith, op cit p 181, E Carey op cit p 330

published in 1803 1 but it was prepared from a fount of

The Press at Setremen

more elegant and smaller constructed by Manolar The story of its printing is thus told in the Remoir relative to Translations.

' Happily for us and India at large Wilkins had led the way in this department and persevering industry under the greatest duadvantages with respect to materials and workmen had brought the Bengali (sic) to a high degree of perfection. Soon after our settling at Scrampore the providence of God brought to us the very artist who had wrought with Wilkins in that work and in a great measure imbibed his ideas. By his assistance, we crected a letter foundry although he is now dead he had so fully communicated his art to a number of others that they carry forward the work of type-casting and

Pahehinan and M nobar

even of cutting the matrices with a degree of accarnos which would not discrace European artists "?

1 1902; 2. 1800; 2. 1803; 4. 1807 The Paulter appears to have been lamed separately in 1803. A revised edition appeared in 1832 The New Testament was published in 1801 [See Appendix II at the end of this volume for a note on Biblical translations] In Cal Rev. z, p. 130 the date of Ellerton a New Testament is erroneously given as 1816. For John Thomas a translation of the Scriptures, see Mardoch, O talogue of Christian Vernzenlar Literature of Ind pp. 4 and 5 Smith op. cit p 179 Thomas a version (before 1791) was circulated in manuscript. Kave Christian to m I did p 138, speaks of this version as having been done in "scarcely intelligible Bongalee See Carey Orient Christ B ography vol. 1, pp. 411-451.

3rd Ed. 1811; 4th Ed 1810; 8th Ed. 1832. The date in the text is the date of the 2nd Ed. as given by Marshman; but Smith (p. 183) gives 1806 as the date. The fact is that the edition was commenced in 1903 and completed in 1906. See Appendix II at the end of this volume

Memoir relative t the Translation of the Sacred Script res 1 t the Languages of the E at Serampore 1810, by Marshman. The Bible antist referred to above as Wilkins' assistant was Panchānan, of whom we have already spoken Panchānan's apprentice Manohar continued to make elegant founts of type in all the Eastern languages for sale as well as for the Mission, where he was "employed for 40 years and to his exertion and instruction Bengal is indebted for the various beautiful types of Bengali, Nagri, Persian, Arabic, and other characters which have been gradually introduced into the different printing establishments"

Much misconception seems to exist as to the exact

Translation of the Bible, its importance in Bengali literature

nature of the services done by Carey to Bengali literature by translating the Bible into that language No doubt, here was the realisation of one

of the highest ambitions of Carey as a missionary and in the history of Church Missions, it occupies a very high and well-deserved position. Carey has been called by enthusiastic adminers the Wychf and the Tyndal, while Dr. Yates the Coverdale of the Bengali Bible 3. Whatever may be the value of such comparisons, from the standpoint of Bengali literature it is, however, to say the least, ill-informed and misleading. The position which Wychf's, Tyndal's and Coverdale's versions respectively occupy in the history as well as the literature of England.

was translated through the efforts of the Sirimpur Mission into 40 different languages and dialects. See also Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Mes. Soc. vol. 1, pp. 292, 368, 417, 527. vol. 11. pp. 62, 132. See remarks on these oriental translations in William Brown, History of Missions, vol. 11. p. 71.

- <sup>1</sup> Panchānan lived for only 3 or 4 years after this Bengal Obituary p 338
  - " Mar hman, Hist of Scrampur Mission vol 1 p 179
- <sup>2</sup> Smith op cit p 156. But see Brown Hist of Missions, vol 11, p 71 where Carey's version is impartially estimated to be now "given up as of no great value". See Cal. Rei.  $\times$  p. 131, Cal. Christ. Observiol xin. p. 557.

is not the same as that which Carey s or lates' translations can ever aspire to attain! There might be some point in comparing Carey's version to Wychil's, for the latter cannot it is well known compete as literature with that produced two centuries later in Fuglish and consequently possesses nothing save an historical attraction But Coverdale s claim rests on his supposed principal share in the merits of the early Tudor translations of the Bible To compare these early English versions of the Bible with .. the Bengali ones of Carey and lates would be to make a wrong estimate of both As n piece of literature the Bengali version cannot be said to be a masterpiece in the sense in which the English versions are. That the English version whether of 1535 or of 1011 is a monument of early English prose that its peculiar style- the swan song' as happily put of Middle English transferred from verse to prose' - has always been the admiration of best enties and writers from generation to generation and that there is no better English anywhere than the English of the Bible of these facts there can be no doubt. But to speak of Carey s and lates versions in similar terms would not only be incorrect but ludierous. Here is the version of one of the most gublime passages of the Biblethe account of the creation at the beginning but the reader will note that the translation is not only imperfect and erude, the grammar meetreet the idiom faulty the syntax erabbed and obscure but also the whole thing looks like an absolutely foreign growth vainly attempted to be acclimated in Bengali

প্রবাদে ইবর বেন্ন করিলেন মর্গ ও প্রবিট। প্রবিটী ইয়াও অভিনাকার চটল এবং গভীরের উপরে অভ্যার ও টার্বরের আমা

Or even Wengur's (1861) or Rouse a (1897) later revisions.

দোলাম্মান হইলেন ছলেব উপৰ। পৰে ঈশ্বৰ বশিলেন দীপ্তি ইউক তাহাতে দীপ্তি হইল তথন ঈশ্বৰ সে দীপ্তি বিশ্যাণ দেখিলেন। তংগবে ঈশ্বৰ দীপ্তি এ চবাৰ বিভিন্ন ব নিলেন। ঈশ্বৰ ও দীপ্তিৰ নাম বাধিয়েন দিবস ও অন্তবাৰেৰ নাম বাত্ৰি। সান্তা ও প্ৰতিযোগ ইইলা ইইল প্ৰথম দিবন।

এবং ঈশ্ব বলিনেন আবাশ ইউব ভবেব ননান্তনা ও সে ছণ এ জন প্রথক কন্দর। '৯৩এব ঈশ্বর স্থানন ববিলেন আবাশ ও প্রথম কবিলেন আবাশেব উপবেব ছল নিচেব ছল হইতে। তাহাতে সে নত হইল। ঈশ্বর সে আকাশেব নান বাধিলেন স্বৰ্গ নকা ও প্রাতিধাল হইলে হইল দিতীয় দিবস।

এবং ঈশব বলিলেন সর্গেব নিচেব ছল এক এব হউব এক তানে ও শ্লুপ্ত ভূনি প্রকাশ হউব। তাহাতে নেই মত হইল। পরে ঈশব সে শ্লুপ্ত লান বাগিলেন পৃথিবী ও সে ছলেব এক এবেব নান বাগিলেন সন্ধা। ঈশ্বব ও তাহা দেখিলেন বিলাল। পরে ঈশব বলিলেন পৃথিবী উৎপন্ন ককক অঙ্গ ও বীজ দানিক তৃণ ও কল বৃদ্ধ বাহা বল কলিবে। আপনাবান্থ্যায়ি বাহাব বীজ আপনাব মধ্যে পৃথিবীব উপব। তাহাতে সেই মত হইল। অতএব পৃথীবী উৎপন্ন কবিল অঙ্গ ও বীজ দানিক তৃণ আপনাবান্থ্যায়ি ও বলদায়িক বৃদ্ধ বাহাব বীজ আপনাব মধ্যে আপনাব প্রকাবান্থ্যায়ি। ঈশ্বব ও দেখিলেন তাহা বিলখণ। স্ক্রা ও প্রাতকাল হইলে হইল তৃতীয় দিবস।

তথন ঈথব বলিলেন দীপ্তি হউক স্বর্গেব আকাশেব মধ্যে দিবাবাতি বিভিন্ন কবিতে ও তাহা হউক চিহ্ন ও কাল ও দিবন ও বংসব নির্দ্পণেব কাবণ। তাহাবা ও দীপ্তি হউক স্বর্গেব আকাশে উজ্জল কবিতে পৃথীবীব উপব। তাহাতে সেই মত হইল। তাবপবে ঈথব নির্মাণ কবিলেন গ্রহ বড দীপ্তি বডতব দীপ্তি দিবসেব কর্তৃত্ব কবিতে ক্ষুত্রতব দীপ্তি বজনিব হৃত্তিত্ব করিতে তিনি ও নির্মাণ কবিলেন তাবাগণ। ঈথব ও স্থাপন কবিলেন তাহাবদিগকে স্বর্গেব আকাশে উজ্জল কবিতে

পৰীবিতে ও কড় ৰ ক্ষিতে ধিবারাত্রির উপর ও দীপ্তি পদ্ধকার বিভিন্ন করিতে। ঈবর ও দেখিনেন তাহা বিশক্ষণ। সন্ধা ও আতকান হইলে हरेन ठउँच पित्र।

ভাহার পরে ইবর বলিবেন কল উত্তব কলক অপদ লাভ ও পক উড়ক পুৰীবির উপর অর্গেব আকাশে। সেই মত ঈবর নির্মাণ ক্রিনেন বড় কুলীর ও এবকাদি প্রতি লভ বাহা ললে গতি করে তাহারদের আত্যাপুরারিও প্রতিপক্ত তাহারদের আত্যাপুরারি। ইবর ও দেখিলেন ভাষা বিশ্বকৰ। উত্তর ও আনীর্জাণ দিলেন ভাষারদিপকে কহিলা বাড় ও বংশ বৃদ্ধ ও পুটিংং হও সনুদের মালে পক্ষ ও বংশ বৃদ্ধ হউক পুৰীবীর উপর। সন্ধাও প্রাওকান হইলে হইল পঞ্চম দিবস।

(44 N+1 9 >-0)

The Bengali stylo however in these versions, it will be seen is not laboured but directed towards simpli city and some attempt is made in however groping fashion to reproduce the poetry and magnificence of the Biblical style so far as it was possible to do so in that early stage of Bengali prove? Yet, as the

বর্ম এক। তাহা ইবলের সমল্ল বাক্য। হাহা আকাল করিয়াছেন বলুবোর ত্ৰাৰ ও কাৰ্যনোৰনাৰ্যে। ভাষাৰ কাৰ্ম ভাগ বাধাতে চাৰি বৰ্গ খোনাৰ ব্যৱসা বিশ্বালের বিষয়ণ, শীতাবি ভবিষ্ঠ বাক্য। মোলার ব্যবস্থা। তর্মনা ছইল ছেবিভারা हरेट । बैदान ka होगा हरेन। २४ э | The English title-page is as f llows The Holy Bible containing the Old Testament and the New translated out of the original tongues. Serampore. Printed t the Mission Pross. 1802. The title page of vol ii (N w Testament) is as follows वर्ष । ४० जाहोब चढारा । जाहा चांबोक्टरब याङ् छ जानकी एरछ श्रीरहेत वक्त मुन्नाकांत्र । कर्कमा बहुल जीक कारा व्हेरक । वैतानपूरत कांगा वहेता। ১৮ ১ ।

No pains were spared, it seems, to make the version as accurate and natural as possible. Carey revised it four times before publi cation with Ram Basu, the most accomplished Bengali scholar of the time, by his side. The Pundits judged of the style and syntax and he himself of the faithf lores of the translation (E. Carey op, cit p. 308) In 1815 Carey took Yates as an associate with him solf in these translation His special care" says W. H. Carey (Orient Christ, Biography vol. 1, p 319) "was bestowed upon the Bengali version.

following extract from Pharaoh's dream in the revised version of Yates will indicate, how immature and crude the style is and what presumption it is to compare this with the traditional excellence of the Biblical style 11

একদিনে পূর্ব্বকাশীয় নিসবদেশের দিবোঁণ্ বাছ এই সগ্ন দেখিল।
সে নদীকৃলে দাঁভাইয়া গাকিলে নদী হইতে নাতটা হাইপেই স্থান্দর
গোক উঠিয়া প্রান্তবে চবিতে লাগিল। পরে ভাব সাতটা ক্রম ও বুৎসিং
গোক নদী হইতে উঠিয়া নদার তীবে এ গোকদের নিব ট দাঁভাইল। পরে
সেই ক্রম কুৎসিং গোক এ সপ্ত হাইপুই স্থান্দর গোবকে গ্রান কবিল।
তথন কিবোঁণের নিদ্রাভিন্ন হইল। তাহার পরে কিবোঁণ নিদ্রিত
হইলে দ্বিতীয় বার স্বপ্ন দেখিল। এক বোঁটাতে সাত সূলাকার উত্তর্গ
শীষ উঠিল। পরে পূর্বীর বায়ুতে শুক্র ভাব সাত ফীল শীষ উঠিল।
এবং সেই সাত ফীল শীষ এ সাত সূলাকার পূর্ণ শীষ গ্রাস
কবিল। পরে কিবোঁণের নিদ্রাভিন্ন হইলে তাহা স্বপ্নাত্র হইল।

It has been further remarked with regard to these Bengali versions that while the ideas of the Bible elaborate the notions of the readers, the language of it accustoms them to the disuse of the vulgar palois. All the resources of the language, gram natical and

<sup>1</sup> Of course, this is a great improvement upon the original version of 1802 which runs as follows —

ছই বংদৰ পূর্ব হইলে এইনত হইলে ফারোড। বল্প দেখিল দেখ দে ডাণ্ডাইয়াছে নদীর কিনারায় দেখ নদী হইতে উঠিল প্রন্দর হিষ্টপুষ্ট সাতটা গাভী ও চবিতে লাগিল ধারের উপর দেখ তাহার পবে আর সাতটা গাভী উঠিল নদী হইতে বড় কুচ্ছিত ও কুধা পরে নদিতীরে ডাণ্ডাইল আব সকল গাভীর কাছে অতঃপব কুচ্ছিত কুধা গাভীরা খাইয়া ফেলাইল নে সাতটা প্রদর হষ্টপুষ্ট গাভীবদিগকে। তখন ফারোডার চৈতনা হইল। পরে সে পুনর্বার নিদ্রিত হইয়া অল্প দেখিল দেখ সাত শিষ শাস্য উৎপন্ন হইল একগাছ তৃণের উপর তাজা ও বিলক্ষণ তারপর দেখ পুবিয়া বায়তে শুক্ত করা সাতটা পাতলা শিষ উৎপন্ন হইল পরে সে সাতটা শিধ খাইয়া ফেলিল সে সাতটা তাজা শিধেরদিগকে তখন ফারোডা জাগ্রত হইল। (ধর্মপুন্তক, ক্রেম্নভাগ, পুঃ ৪১)

lexicographical are called out to indicate -(1) new and foreign and (2) noble ideas ! Hence it is argued, the importance of the translated Bible in Beneali li terature The remark however would have been per fectly true and appropriate had the condition of things been in India what it had always been in Enrope The Bible is the one book in the European construes which is a universal favourite and its ides, and lan guage have through many centuries become almost a part of the ideas and language of the people at large To this is partly due the enormous influence of the sacred book on the languages and hieratures of Europe The Bengali Bible however has failed to exercise any such influence. In India where the missionaries can hoast of very few tramples among the educated class and the Bible is not so familiarly known and universally respected the cure is not the same as it is in Europe Again it is true that in all translations the resonress of the language are drawn out to the utmost and that translation is the best exercising ground for an infant literature vot even as a piece of translation the Bengali Bible cannot in any sense be regarded as a triumph of the translator's art and the very strain in expressing strange and alien ideas with a limited command over the inherent powers of the language makes the style crabbed stilted and unnatural musionary writings in Bengali have a sort of traditional repute for crabbed syntax and false juxtaposition of words here surely the tradition for once is not mis leading. Indeed in spite of all that can be said in favour of the versions no critic, however alive to their importance

Cal. Rev vol. zili 1850 Art Early Bengali Literature and Newspaper " p 139

as the earliest specimen of simple and homely prose, can ever claim any thing like literary competency for their marked that they are throughout by carliness and immaturity. Carey's claim to importance as a contributor to Bengah literature does not rest so much upon his Bible-translations and numerous tracts on Christianity, but on the works which he produced in another sphere of usefulness but on which he himself seems to have laid less emphasis although they show him in a better light as a writer of Bengah

This sphere of usefulness was first opened to Carey
by his appointment as a teacher of
Bengali in Loid Wellesley's newly
established Fort William College

It is to be noted, however, that it was the publication of the Bible-translation and his reputation as the foremost European scholar of Bengali that had scenied the appointment which placed him in a position, philological and financial, to further the cruse of Bengali writing It was more to his connexion with the Fort William College and his growing influence as a writer and scholar in Bengali than to his position as a preacher of the Gospels that we one every thing that he did for enriching Bengali literature

## CHAPTLR V

## WILLIAM CARRY AND FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE.

Among the institutions which in various ways gave an importus to Bengali literature Fort William College to the Fort William College Since gall prose

literature after Bharat-chandra's death its first public emergence is to be traced in the prose publications of this College which although no literature by themselves certainly heralded the more mature productions of later days The importance of the Fort William College in the bistory of modern Bengali prose is not due to the supreme excellence of its rublication (for its publi cations were not in any way first rate) but to the fact that by its employment of the Press by pecuniary and other encouragement by affording a central place for the needed contact of mind to mind it gave such an impetus to Bengali learning as was never given by any other institution since the establishment of the British rule. It is true that the books published under its patronage and generally for the use of its students were not more namerous or more substantial than those of the famous School Book Society of later times hut it must be admitted that the list presents a long series of important compositions in the vernacular and classical languages of the East on a variety of subjects and comprehends many works which though written expressly for young civilian students were at one time widely celebrated in this country and which have not yet lost all then value and interest But this was The College was the seminary of western not all learning in an eastern dress, it helped to diffuse western ideas through the medium of the vernacular But at the same time, orientalism was its principal feature, and it tuined the attention of students and scholars to the cultivation of oriental languages, both "The establishment classical and vernacular of the College of Fort William" said Sir Geoige Bailow at the first Disputation of the College held so early as 1802 "has already excited a general attention to oriental language, literature and knowledge "1 We can realise what this means when we bear in mind the general neglect and oblivion to which Bengali literature and Bengali education had hitherto been consigned The Honourable Visitor of 1815 in remarking on the encouragement held out by the College for the study of the leading oriental languages observed that previously to the foundation of the College "the language of Bengal was generally neglected and unknown" 2 The best scholars and the greatest intellects of the country met here in friendly intercourse, and we shall see how an attractive personality like Carey's drew around it a band of enthusiastic writers, bent upon removing the poverty of their vernacular At the invitation and inducement of such scholars, literary works were undertaken by the enlightened Bengali community as well as by the Munshis and Pundits of the College who would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Roebuck, Annals of the College of Fort William (1819), p 17, The College of Fort William 1805 ed by Claudius Buchanan, Vice Provost & Professor of the College (See Pearson's Memois of Rev Claudius Buchanan, 1819, vol 1, p 202 foot note) containing all the official papers and literary proceedings of the College, p 58 at p 62, See also Seton Kurr, Selections from Cal Gazette, vol 111, p 296 99 etc

<sup>2</sup> Roebuck, op ei p 468

possibly have produced nothing hit for the stimulus thus given to their literary zeal and the encouragement yielded by the liberality of the government which would have never otherwise been so readily called into being 1. The movement for undertaking literary and scientific works in Bengali prose and for translation into that language which till 1850 had been so comp coops an activity in the literary history of Bengal, had its beginning in the public

The value of its publications cations of the College of Fort Williams and in the zeal of its scholars aided no doubt by the fact

scholars aided no doubt by the fact that exigencies of education and spread of liberal ideas naturally brought on a multiplication of text-books and books of general interest. It is true speaking generally that the productions of these devoted scholars consisting as they do mostly if school books and translations are far from being invulnerable in point of literary ment; yet to them belongs the credit of breaking fresh ground and creating the all important Bungah prose-f-all work. Not that we have no Bengah prose before this but it was hardly in current use and not so developed as to be the medium of everyday thoughts of the nation. No one can claim for this early prose the finish and all expressiveness of latter day prose, but it cannot be desired that here

This was a pet scheme of Wellasley s so the liberality of the Government was magnificent.

The popular opinion sided, no doubt, by the extreme scarcity of these publications in the present day as well as by ignorant or careless enticism, often deriving its informations second hand that these publications were seldom or herer read, is not borne out by contemporary aliasions referring to these works and their extensive sale, running them through numerous editions within half a century. Most of these publications afforded an endices quarry of fables and stories, always interesting to an oriental reader.

we have, if not ait, at least claftmanship, if piecisely no work of genius, at least the hint and intimation of such close at hand

The College of Fort William which was actually in operation from May 4, 18001 was Its foundation (1800) formally established on August 18 by and object a Minute in Council in which the Governor-General detailed at length the reasons for starting such an institution 2 No sooner did Lord Wellesley find himself freed from the uncongenial bonds of war in the South than he devoted himself to various measures of internal administration with an ardour seldom equalled except perhaps by Lord Bentinck whom he so closely resembled The Company's Civil Service, although it produced a few men of first-rate ability, had sunk into the lowest depths of vice and ignorance The Service had its origin in a mercantile staff, well-versed in the mysteries of the counting-house, and its training, since the Factory had grown into an Empire, had not been sufficient for the more important duties which now devolved upon it system which Burke had reprobated fifteen years ago was still unchanged, and lads of fifteen to eighteen were being sent out to India before their education could be finished, with no opportunity or inducement on their airrival to complete it At the close of three or four years' residence, the young Civilians, endowed with an affluent income and unchecked authority, had not only lost the fruits of them European studies and gained no useful knowledge of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The First Term of the College commenced from February 6, 1801

<sup>\*\*</sup> Minutes in Council at the Fort William by His Excellency the Most Hon'ble Marquis of Wollesley, containing his reasons for the establishment of a College in Bongal, dated August 18, 1800 (See Rocbuck, op cit p vi and Buchanan, op cit p 89

Asiatio literature or business but were absolutely alandqued to pursue their own inclination without guidance or control. Of the languages and manners of the people whose affairs they were called upon to administer they were not required to know even the rudiments. The

Minute denounced in the strongest terms the absolute insufficiency of this class of young men to execute the duties of any station whatsoever in the Civil Service of the

duties of any station whatsoever in the Civil Service of the Company beyond the monial labornous and unprofitable duty of a more copying click. It became ovident that there could be no substantive improvement without providing a succession of men sufficiently qualified to conduct it. This Civil Servants of the English East India Company says the Minute<sup>1</sup> can no longer be considered as the arents of a commercial concern they are in fact the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign they must now be viewed in that capacity with a reference not to their nominal but to their real occupation. Their studies the discipline of their education their habits of life their mannors and morals should therefore be so ordered and recolated a to cetablish.

It appears from the proceedings of the Governor-General in Council dated as far back as Bep 10 1790 that with a view to the acquisition of the folden languages by the Company's writers, encouragement was afforded by offering them allowance and other facilities (Beton Karr Selection from Oct Ocattle II. 213-14) but it was never enjoined upon thom as a matter of duty or necessity

Rochock, on cit. p. lv : Bah n. op c t pp. 5-5

Roobock, oj. cit. p. 19; 110 \* n. op c r pp. 5-0

Soo Sete Karr p. cit vol iii pp 22-23. Before the formal
criablishment f the College, Dr Ollehrist, an emi ont Hindusthani
sch lar was appointed provisionally by Lord Wellesley to find out if so
experime to it lecturing to young Oivillans could be made succeeded.
Lis succeeded spie didly as appears from the Report of the Committee
appointed to ascertain the pros. cas made in Oilchrist a class (Roobuck,
op. cit. pp. 114; Seton Karr Selections from Cal. Garetic vol lii pp 58-61)
After this the scheme of Fort Willi m College was set on foot.

correspondence between their qualifications and then duties." The Minnte then declares that "A College is hereby founded at Fort William in Bengal for the better instruction of the Jinnioi Civil Servants of the Company." The institution was projected on a scale of magnificence which marked all the plans of Lord Wellesley, but under the pressure of the authorities at home, who were deadly opposed to the institution and without whose sanction and acquiescence it had been set up, the College was continued on a reduced scale.

The range of studies marked out for the students in the College was very extensive and one of its most striking features was its orientalism. The curriculum, subsequently modified, was intended

to melade in its grand scale "Arabie, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindustham, Bengah, Telegu, Mahratti, Tamil, Kanara", besides "Laws and Regulations, Political Economy, Modern Languages, Greek, Latin, English Classies, General History ancient and modern, History of India, Natural History, Botany, Chemistry and Astronomy" !2 The College was patronised by the Governor-General himself, his colleagues, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, for it was considered to be one of the most important institutions of the State and the senior members of the Government were required in virtue of their office

Public disputations in oriental languages

to take a share in its management Public disputations in oriental languages were held annually in the grand edifice which Wellesley had crected,

in an august assembly, composed of men of high rank

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The College continued till 1854, but since the foundation of School Book Society and Hindu College in 1817, its importance was overshadowed and diminished

Roebuck, op cit. p avn

It would interest Bengali readers to learn that debates were held in Bengali and the subject at the First Public Disputation held in February 6, 1802 was 'Whether the Asiatics are capable of as high degree of civilisation as Europeans' The theses read by the students were published and they afford as some of the earliest specimens

Theses by the students of the College

of sustained prose writing attempted by Europeans We give below the theses prenounced at a disputation in Bengali in the Second

Public Disputation held on March 29 1803 hy James Hunter although we have as we shall see better specimens of prose-writing even before this date. This would however serve as the arcrage specimen of European prose of the time. There are some quaint turns of phrases a few meetitable mistakes of idiom and syntax and errors of orthography and the style is a little too crude and sansentized, yet if we compare with it the contemporary prose of Prelapaditys Charitra (1801) and Lipinada (1802) this specimen will hardly be at a disadvantage with them in many respects. The scarreits of the publications which

Reports of the annual Disputations till 1819 will be found in detail in Reduck, op. et. Also in Buchanan, op. etc. till 1800; and also see Seton-Karr op cit p 200; also in Primities Orientales, rols, 181.

Some of the students of the College published notable works. In 1803 Henry Barjent, who was a distinguished student of Bengall in the College (See Roebuck ep. eit pp. 178-180 218-221) Innaisated the first four books of the Ansid or Illud (the first book according to Long's Catalogue came out in 1805) Monckton, another student, translated Bhakrepeare's Temper (Oct. Rev 1850, Art. Beng Lit.) Long, bowerer followed by Dimeh-chandra Ben (op cit. p 876) mistakes the name of Henry Barjent for J Sorjeant. From Roebuck op. cit. it appears that there was no student in the College bearing the name of J Borjeant," and no such en presen, it would seem from Dodwall and Miles on cit. stere entered the Olvil Service

contain these theses will be a sufficient excuse for the length of the quotation. The subject was "The Distribution of Hindus into Castes ictual their progress in improvement"

্ হিন্দোকেৰা ভি। ভি। হাতি এই প্ৰস্কু ভাহাৰদেৰ বিলার্ছিৰ হানি হয়।

गाञ्चरानरभन नोजिक्कण अदः सङ्ग्राखान्त्रिमसानिज्ञनगाग्र यथन कानदा

Thesis at the Second Disputation reproduced, as the average spect men of the Purope anised Bengali prose of the time দেখি তথন আমধা বিম্নাপা হট সকলে বৃদ্ধে দে ভিন্ন দেশীৰ গোৰেশদেৰ ভিন্ন ভিন্ন বাতিৰ এট বাৰণ যে আপন আশন সভাৰ এবং গ্ৰীয় শীতেৰ ওণ বৃহ্ছ দেশীয় বাৰ্ছাশকেৰা ব্যবহা-

ক্ৰণ কালে এই ছই কাৰণ প্ৰধান কৰিণা মানিয়াছেন সৰ্বনেশে পুণক পুথক ব্যবহাৰ সংসাবেৰ চপন নিমিত্ত খবছ মাজ হইনাছে।

কোন দেশীয় লোকেবা এ পথ নেনা বাণি, গ্রাছে নাহাতে কোন বৃদ্ধিনান লোক যদি গতি নাচ হয় তথাচ গতি উত্তন জিলা ববিতে পাবে এবং নহা সম্রম পান এবং অন্ত দেশান লোবে বা ভি। ভি। ছাতিব মধ্যে অলতন্দীয় প্রাচীবেব ন্যাম ভিল ভিল বানহাব বানধান কবিনাছে এবং এনন অনন্থা ভাবি বাবহাবে নিয়ন কবিনা বিছাবৃদ্ধিব ইছা এবং উত্তন হস্তনেব চেষ্টা স্থাকিত কবিগ্রাছে প্রস্তুত হিন্দুপানেব লোকেবদেব এই নত তাহাবদেব বানপ্থায় নহানীতি এবং অভিশ্য বিছা প্রকাশিত হয় কিন্তু তবে কি ভাল ব্রিয়ো পৃথক পৃথক জাতিব নিয়ম কবিল ইহাব কাবল বুঝা কঠিন ববং ইহাতে এইমত বুঝা যায় যে অহংকৃত অজ্ঞানী অনুধানী লোকেবা অগ্রেব মহন্দ্ব লোপ কবিয়া আপন আপন নহম্বেব বাহুলা কবিয়াছে এবং বিগ্রা ও বৃদ্ধি কতৃ ক আবোপিত ভক্তিও মূর্থতাব যে প্রাজ্ব সে এই বন ও স্নাদ্র পান্তনেব নিনিও এবং লোকেবদেব মনেব শাস্তা হস্তনেব নিমিও এবং প্রকাবান্তবে বাজ্ঞাশাসন কবিতে না পাবিষা এই প্রকাবে লোকেবদেব শাসন নিনিও অজ্ঞানী যাজকতা জ্ঞাতিবিভেদ পৃষ্টি কবিল।

ব্রাছণেরা বলে স্ট্রারস্তে ইবর পুথক পৃথক চারিবর্গ ক্সন্ত্রারদের বাংশ ক্ষরির বৈশ্ব পূর্ব ক্ষরিবর্গর পূপক পৃথক গর্নাচার ছিল্লগর্ম এই এছাচার বন্ধন বালন ক্ষর্যাক্ষর অই এছাচার বন্ধন বালন ক্ষর্যাক্ষর ক্ষরিভাকত্যান শিষ্ট পালন ছবিখন রাজ্যবাদন ক্ষরা ক্ষর্যাক্ষর বিশ্বস্থিতি ক্ষরিকর্ম ব্যাস্থিতি ক্ষরিকর্ম ব্যাস্থান ক্ষরা ক্ষর্যাক্ষর বিশ্বস্থিতি ক্ষরিকর্ম এবং বাশিল্য পুথার মুর্ম্ব ব্যাস্থাক্ষর হার্যাক্ষর বাদিল্য পুথার মুর্ম্ব ব্যাস্থাক্ষর ব্যাস্থ্য ব্

দেশ আছাৰ দট্যা বদি নাচহুত্তি কৰে তাৰ তাহার নীচত্ব প্রাপ্তি
হয় এবং এভোড বাবং অতি সম্প্রই এইমত ইহাতে সমত্ত লোক আলন
আলন আতি বন্ধনিটে পাকে তাহার অন্তর্গা করে না
ইহাতে আনা বাব বদি কোন লোক আলন আতির বিলেও কর্ম্ম প্রথাবি
না করে তবে তাহার তথা।তির হানি হয় কাহার কিছু ক্ষতি হয় কাহার
কিছুই পাকেনা হ্যবাতি লোলে কোন নিছাতে ইছা হয় নাকেন না
ত্রংগাতি ও আতি প্রক্ষিত্র তইতে পারে না এমন লোকও পূর্ব্য বন্ধ মেবিলে মন প্রকৃত্ব পায় এবং সেই লোকও আলন পূর্ব্য বন্ধ আলন
সমান ক্রিতে সংলহ্জনে চেটা পার।

হিশ্বংগর পৃথক পৃথক হওরা সকল বিভা ছওনের প্রতিবন্ধক পূর বদি গৈতৃক বিভা ভিরাভ বিভাগ্যাগন ইক্ষক হর এবং বোগ্য বুরা বার সে পূর আগন আতি রক্ষা প্রবৃত্ত বীর অভিগবিত বিভাতে প্রবর্ধ হঠতে পারে না এই তাহার বৃদ্ধি পুরিব বাবক হর তাহার ছল এই বহি কোন পূর বেগবেখান পাঠ কবে তবে হিশ্বংগর শার্রণত এই দত্ত কর্ত্তব্য অভ্যাসে কিহাছেখন ক্রিবেক ইচ্ছাপুর্বক তাহা প্রবর্গ ক্রিলে সে পূঞ্র কর্দেশত তথ্য নীয়া প্রধান করিবেক আর পূঞ্ হইরা বলি বেগের অর্থ ধনেতে বারণ করে তবে তাহাকে ব্র ক্রিতেহর।

অন্ত শাস্ত্র বদি ভাবাতে ওর্জনা করে তবে সংস্কৃত শাস্ত্রের দ্যৌরব হানি প্রাবৃক্ত তাহার কণ্যাতি হয় বেমন মহাভারতের তর্জনা ভাবাতে কানীবাস নামে এক সূত্র করিয়াছিত সেই দোবেতে এাদ্রণেরা ভাবাকে শাস দিরাছিত সেই তরেতে অন্ত কেহ এখন সে কর্ম কবে না। হিন্দুলোকেবা যদিও আপন শাস্ত্রেব নিশ্চরতে থাকে তবে অন্ত দেশেব বিভা ও ব্যবহাব যদি ভালও হয় তবুও তাহা গ্রহণ কবিতে পাবে না যদি অভ দেশেব বিভা ও ব্যবহাব দেখে কিখা স্থনে তথাপি তুচ্ছ কবিয়া আদব কবে না অতএব অভ লোকেব ব্যবহাবেতে তাহাবদের জ্ঞানলাভ হইতে পাবিবে না।

অভা দেশেব গমন ও অভা দেশেব ব্যবহাব দর্শন ও অভাদেশেব বিভাভাদেতে লোকেব বৃদ্ধিব বৃদ্ধি হয় হিন্দুলোকেবদেব শাস্ত্রেব মতে পশ্চিমে আটক নদী পাব হইলে জাতি যায় উত্তবে ভোটান্তব এবং শ্রেচ্ছদেশেও সেই মত এবং এক্সপুত্র পাব হইলে পূর্ব্ধধর্ম নষ্ট হয়। দমিণে সমুদ্রপথে জাহাজে থাকিবা ভোজন পান কবিলে জাতি যায়। হিন্দু শাস্ত্রেব মতে গোখাদকেব সংসর্গ কবিলেও দোব হিন্দুছাড়া যত লোক সকলেই গোমাংস খায় অতএব হিন্দুবা তাহাবদেব সহিত সহবাস কবিতে পাবে না এবং বেমত নির্জ্জন উপদ্বীপে কোন ব্যক্তি একাকী থাকে সেইমত এই একাসাডিরা বীতিতে তাহাবদেব বৃদ্ধি প্রতিভা জডিভূতা হইরাছে এবং তাহাবদেব উভোগ শিথিল হইরা অবিনীততা ও স্তন্ধতা হইরাছে, এই ইযুবোপীরেবদেব মধ্যে দম্যু প্রভৃতি অধম লোক হইতেও অধম, কেননা ইহাবা স্বস্থান ত্যাগ কবিয়া প্রক্রিগান্বিত হইলে তাহাবদেব স্থ্যাতি পুনর্কাব হইতে পাবে কিন্তু ইহাবদেব কথন ভাল হইতে পাবে না হিন্দুবা শাস্তব্যবস্থা কিন্ধা মান্ত লোকেবা যাদ্চিছক জাজ্ঞা লন্ত্র্যন কবিলেই অপাব ত্ন্ত্র্যাগারে পডে।

জাতিরূপ হাপা কেবল বৃদ্ধিবৃদ্ধিব হানি কবে না ববং ভিন্নদেশে পবস্পব গমনাগমনেব বাধক হয় পরোপকাবক জ্ঞান সঞ্চন্তের ক্রপণতা প্রকাশ হয়। অগু দেশীয় লোকেবদেব সংসর্গ হঠতে উৎপাদ্য যে জ্ঞান ও বিছ্যান্ত্রপ উত্তই জাতিকভূকি বন্ধ হইশ্বাছে তাহাতে তাহাবা অগুদেশীয় বিশেষ বিববণ ও ভূগোলবিছা ও মহানাবিক বিছা ও অপ্রচিকিৎসা বিছা ও প্রাণিবিছা ও বুক্লাদিবিছা ও জ্যোতিববিছা ও যুদ্ধবিছা ইত্যাদি আব জাব উত্তম বিছাতে অজ্ঞ হইথাছে বিধান লোক স্বদেশে উৎপন্ন না হইলে বিছাবৃদ্ধি হইতে পাবে না নাবিকবিছাদ্বাৰা

আনারদের আরি স্কল ভাল হবৈ এবং বে নূতন বিভাতে লোকেরদের উত্তর উত্তর ত্থবৃদ্ধি হর তাহা প্রকাশ করদের হারা সেই বিভা লোকেরদের মনের তেলকারি হয় কিন্তু হিন্দুরা সম্প্রস্থন করে না অত্তরে আ সকল হবৈত বুল বাকে।

আমি জানি বে তোগরা ইং।র অন্তবা ধনিবা বেখানে ইবুরালীবেরা বাকে হিপুনে।কেরা তাহারদের সেবা করে এবং তাহারদের গহিত ব্যবহার করে ইং।তে হিপুনে।কেরদের জাতি বার না ও অখ্যাতি হর না ইহা আমি ঠালার করে না কেননা, বহি কোন নতাবাহী হিপুনোকংক নিঞানা করা বার তবে সে অবশ্র হনিবেক বে এমন বাবহার করে তাহার জাতি নাই কেননা এই প্রকার খনেক লোক এবং খনেক শোক বনবান হুবনেতে কেছ কাহাকে কিছু বলে না। এ সক্ষম বিচার করিয়া আমি বুরি বে তির তির জাতি প্রকৃত বিভাবৃত্তির হানি হয়।

Carey was appointed toucher of Bengali and Sansont languages in April 1801 In January 1 1807 he was

Carey appointed Teacher and Professor of Bengali raised to the status of a Professor<sup>3</sup> and he continued till 1831 to be the most notable figure in the College of Fort William. This appointment

threw Calcutta open to him as a field of work and for the next thirty years from 1801 be spent as much of his time in the metropole as at Sristumpur. He found the appointment hringing in its train responsible duties but it afforded him an early opportunity not only to cultivate the beautiful language of Bengal! hut also to enrich its literature hy his own labours as well as by the labours of others whom he induced to work in the same field. He himself not only wrote

Primitive Orient les, vol. ii 1803, pp 67.74 containing theses in the Oriental languages pronounced at the Public Disputations by the Students of the College of Fort William with translations.

Afterwards of the M h ratti language

Rosbuck, op cit Appendix iv p 53 at p 54; Buch op cit p. 236 at p 237 a grammal, compiled a dictionary, and composed text-books but he was at the same time the centre of the learned Bengalis, whom by his zeal he attracted around him as pundits and munsis, as inquirers and visitors. The impetus which he gave to Bengali learning is to be measured not merely by his productions of by his educational labours at this institution of at Śrījāmpur but also by the influence he had exerted and the example he had set before an

His influence and the impetus he gave to literature admining public who soon took up his work in earnestness. He had gathered around him a number of scholars who were at first his teachers

but whom he had succeeded in employing in extensive literary work. Of the fifteen munsis who taught Bengali in the College, the chief was his own pundit, Mrtyuñiay, who wrote some of the most learned and elaborate treatises of the time. He induced three other pundits of the College, Rām Basu, Rājīb-lochan and Chandīcharan, to undertake the composition of vernacular works and he always befriended those who took any interest in the vernacular literature. It was at his suggestion and encouragement that Mohan-prasād Thākur, assistant Librarian to the College of Fort William, compiled his triplish-Bengali Vocabulary (1810) which he dedicated to Dr Carey. It

<sup>1</sup> Buchanan, op cit p 239

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A Vocabulary Bengal, and English for the use of students, arranged in alphabetical order under different subjects, by Mohan Prasad Thākur (1810), 2nd Ed 1815, 3rd Edition 1852 The Calcutta Review (1852) speaks of it as "exceedingly useful to all students of the Bengali language" On the doubtful authority of Rev. Long (Catalogue) the date of this book is fixed to be 1805 by Mr. Sen (History, pp. 866-67). The copy (2nd Edition) in the library of the Board of Examiners bears 1815 as the date of publication Mohan Prasad was appointed Librarian to the Cellego in October, 1807 (Roebuck, op cit. App. III p. 51) so he could not have compiled this work at the suggestion of Carey before this date. See also Preface to Haughton's Dictionary

is needless to multiply examples of works which owed their origin to his suggestion and influ nee but these will go to show how attractive his personality and how extensive his influence had been among his collaborators in the When the appointment wa made' ho writes on June to 1801 I saw that I had a very important charge committed to me I therefore set about compiling a grammar which is now half printed 1 got Ram Ram Basu to compose a history of one of their kings, which we are also printing Onr Pundit has also nearly translated the Spaceket fables which we are also going to publish These with Mr Forster's Focubality will prepare the way to reading their poetical books so that I hope this difficulty will be gotten through . Thus Carey . College room became the centre of incessant literary work as his Srirampor study had been of Bibleimpalation. We can imagine the indefatigable scholar in his climber sitting with his Mansi for three or four hours daily mastering the language in all its complications and with a longing to educate the people writing and translating honr by hour into Bengali tongue the books which he thought useful for that purpose and which contains the first systematin pieces of spirited Bengali prose

Thus although the College of Fort William was found the College of Fort William was found to fulfil a political mission its mechanism of the College of the

Mrtrufflay

E Carey op. cit pp 450-451; Smith op cat. p. 104

of the ancient culture of the land, its all-comprehensive orientalism during fai beyond the intrepid dreams of scholars like Sii William Jones, Wilkins, and Colebrooke. But this orientalism embraced a great deal more than a mere revival of classical learning. Attention in the to had never been turned to vernacular learning in this country which was in a sadly neglected state at the beginning of the century. The College of Fort William, by its encouragement of the vernacular, first brought it into public notice and fostered and nourished it

The list of its publications between 1800 and 1825 comprises, besides 31 works in Hindustanians between 1800 stham, 24 in Sanscrit, 20 in Arabic, and 1825 and 21 in Persian, the following principal works in Bengali<sup>1</sup> chronologically arranged

18()] Pratāpādītya Charitra<sup>1</sup> by Ram Ram Basu A Grammar of the Bengalee Language by W Carev Kathopakathan<sup>2</sup> by William Carey Hitopades translated by Golak-nāth Śaimā

This list is based on the lists given in Roebuck, op cit App II, p 29 (A Catalogue of all the Oriental works published under the patronage of the College of Fort William since its Institution in 1800 up to August 15, 1818), in Buchman, op. cit (List of books printed and published by the Fort William College before 1805) pp 219 236, in Primitiae Orientales (vols ii iii p xlvi), and on the enumeration in Long's Catalogue which, however, is not always reliable. In all these cases where (with the one or two exceptions mentioned) I have been able to avail myself of the original cditions, I have compared and verified the dates here given Particulars or details about these works will be found in their proper places below, where each of them has been reviewed in its turn

 $<sup>^{\</sup>mathfrak c}$  It seems to have been published a month later than  $Prat\overline{a}p\overline{a}ditya$  Charitia

## CAREY AND FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE 181

- 1802 Lipimāla: by Ram Ram Basn

  Batris Sirhiāsan translated by Mṛtynhjay Bidyālankār
- 1803 Esop's Fables translated? Into Bengali under the direction and superintendence of Dr J Gil christ, by Tärinicharan Mitra
- 1805 Iola Ilikās translated from Persian by Chandt charan Munsi

Rājā Apenachandra Rayer Chardra by Rājib Lochan Mukhopādi yāv

- 1808 Rājabali hy Mṛtyuñjay Bidyālaukār Hitopadeb by Mṛtyuñjay Bidyālahkār Hitopadeb by Rām kisor Tarkālaukār
- 1812 Itshae mala by William Carey
- 1813 Pralodk-chandrikas by Mrtsupjay Bidvalaukar
- 1815 Paras-parikad translated by Haraprasid Ray
- 1815 1825 A Dictionary of the Bengalee Larguage by William Carey Vel I (The last volume was published in 1825)

In B chanan op. it and Pressit as O ratales no name of the author is given, but he is simply described as a "learned native in the College

This work! I so mentioned by Long but not in connexion with the publication of the Fort William College.

Mentioned and dated by Roebuck I has e not been able to obtain sight of the work In the Mst of Fundits in the College in 1818 Roebuck mentions Ban-kipor Tarkachdamani (populated November 1806) in the Bengail Department.

Doubtf I whether a publication of the College not officially record ed to be such

P blished in 1833, longafter the death of the author with a preface by J Marshma Hence not mentioned by Roebuck but known con cleavely t be a publication for the use I the College from the testi many I C rey Marshman and oth rs. Bailing a few independent works here and there these were all the best publications and the chief writers in Bengali between 1800 and 1825.

Even if we leave aside publications which are indirectly due to his instigation or
Carey's works in encouragement, it will be seen that
Carey's share in the work was not
inconsiderable Besides the translation of the Bible and
numerous Christian tracts, Carey's works in Bengali consist chiefly of the following books

- (1) A Grammar of the Bengalee Language Printed at the Mission Press Seiampore 1801 (2nd Edition<sup>2</sup> with alterations 1805, 3rd Ed 1815, 4th Ed 1818, 5th Ed 1845)
- (2) Kathopakathan, or Colloquies or Dialogues intended to facilitate the acquiring of the Bengalee Language Printed at the Mission Press Sciampore August,
- In Buchanan op cit there is a list of books printed during 1803 or in course of publication during the year 1804, at p 238. In it we find mentioned a work, of which, however, there is no record in Roebuck or anywhere else, viz. Translation of the Bhagabadgītā from Sanscrit into Bengali by Chandī Charan Munsi. It is not known whether it ever saw the light. In Primit Orient vol in p 1-li, we find the entry of another publication, long supposed to be a missionary publication only and not mentioned in the official records whether of Buchanan or of Roebuck, viz. The Old and the New Testament, translated into the Bengali Language, in 2 vols. It seems to be a reprint of the Śrīrāmpur edition, or even the identical publication, transferred to the list of the publications of the Fort William College.
- The date of the 2nd Edition is given as 'before 1803' in Buchanan, op cit p 222, E Carey, op cit p 474 But Grierson, Linguistic Survey, vol v, pt 1, p 24 says that the 2nd edition was published in 1805, and Wilson (Life and Labours of Carey) corroborates it In the tenth Memoir of the Srīrāmpur mission, the date of the 2nd Ed is given as 1805 Dinesh Ch Sen (Hist of Beng Lit p 857) rather inaccurately states that the book passed through four editions before 1855

1801 (3rd Ld 1818) Originally a part of the Bungali Grammar The title varies slightly to different editions

(a) Itika mala or a collection of stories in the Bengale, I nauage collected from variou sources. Seram pore Printed at the Mr ion Press 1812

(4) A Diele wiew f th Bengilee Language in which words are traced to their origin and their meanings are given in 2 vol \ol 1 161; (\ol II 162) \ol I reprinted in 1815. The second volume i in 2 parts. All Bengali Engli li. Printed at the Mr. ion Press Scrampore.

Carey a enthusiasm for Bengali and la nation scholar ship are nonliere di claved better than

Peope ad 1 pr tance of C rey a work in his industrious compilation of the Bengali Crimmir and the Bengili

Fugli & Dietunity This was indeed the ago of grammars and dictionaries, and the name of grammarians? and lexicographers who aft r Cares followed in the foot steps of Hallied and Forster is legion but none of the works

Rev Long | big Ect ra fth \ mes | 1 W to g | 5315 Persons con celed with Re g. I. Li mt re (p 1-w) mention among Carry a works a treather or pumphi trailed Letter t Let It seems that the Addre t a Lel which was writen not by Carry but ly Pearce of Hirmingham we translated by Circy (see E. Circy op. 1 p. 463; also Murdoch, C t log e of Ch I tin Vernacular L tera i re of lades p. 5) Carey al o wrote other missionary tracts which it is not necessary to mention here

The first Bengali Gramm r ty a nati gramm rian is said to be that by G f ga Ki or Bh (Idcharya written in the form of a dialogu It w published ! 1816 (Long C ! log ) This il to seems to be Incorrect We find the first a no cement of this work in the Soundeh Darpen (Oct 3, 1818) from which it would appea. In the first place that the book wa published bout 1818; and secondly that it was not ouly a gram is but a compend! of miscellaneous I formation and that the portion deall g with grammar did not relate to Bengali is guare but that it was an Epclish Grammer in Bencall See my article in Buletys Bukutya P riget Patrikii, vol. xxiv p 151

of these writers except perhaps Haughton's Glossary and Kerth's Grammar (popularly called Ket-Byākaran) obtained the reputation and currency which Carey's scholarly works

did Carey's Grammar was composed

Carey's Grammar, more than twenty years after Hallied's

Grammar Hallied's was indeed a

work of ment, but in the interval that had elapsed between its appearance and the institution of public lectures in the Fort William College, it had probably become scarce, and was no longer available for the needs of the students of the College. To Halhed indeed belongs the credit of first reducing to rule the construction of the

Indebtedness to Hal hed and Carey's ongr nality Bengali language, and Carey must have derived much help from him <sup>1</sup> But though ostensibly modelled on Halhed's work, Carey's Grammar was

altogether a new and original contribution to the scientific study of the language, for Carey had an opportunity of "studying the language with more attention and of examining its structure more closely" than had been done before Whilst acknowledging the aid he had derived from Halhed, Carey observes (1st Ed 1801) made some distinctions and observations not noticed by him, particularly on the declension of nouns and verbs and the use of participles" In the preface to the second edition "Since the first edition of this work (1805) he says was published, the writer had had an opportunity of studying this language with more attention and of examining its structure more closely than he had done before result of his studies he has endeavoured to give in the following papers which, on account of the variations from the former editions, may be esteemed a new work"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E Carey, op cit p 247

variations alluded to above refer to the alterations and additions particularly in the declension and derivation of noins and in the conjugation of verbs extending the grammer to nearly duble its original size. The later editions however do not differ materially from the second edition.

Another merit of this ( rammar arises from the fact that Carey seems to have realised very early that the basis of the vernacular language must be sought in its classical progenitor and this fact cumbles him The leasts of the language and of the to examine entically the ultimate CTADIDAL structure of the language and evolve rigid rules fixing the elecatic colloqualism and dialectal variety of the vernacular into definite forms. A living language however can never be regulated by artificial rules borrowed from a lead language however closely connected they might be with each other, and Carey in giving full scope to collocatal and temporal variations shows himself fully alive to this fact. Jules f Sansont Grammar can never suffice for the study of Bengali yet one can never wholly dispense with Sansorit Crammar in framing a grammar for its vermentar off-shoot. A troly scientific grammar of Bengali must avoid these extremes and Cares who bad a wonderful knowledge of the vernacular as it was spoken and written as well as of the classical Sanscrit succeeded to a great extent in steer ing through the middle path

The Bengali Grammar of Caroy explains the peculiarities of the Bengali alphabet and the combination of its letters the declension of substantives and formation of derivative nouns inflections of adjectives and pronouns and the conjugation of verbs. It gives comous lists and

smorbi

descriptions of indeclinable verbs, adverbs, prepositions, etc., and closes with syntax and with an appendix of numerals and tables of weights and measures. The rules are comprehensive, though expressed with brevity and simplicity, and the examples, though derived from only a few of the standard works, are sufficiently immerous and well-chosen There are many defects and mentable errors but they are sufficiently obvious and excusable to require any comment and do not materially affect the value of the book syntax, however, is the least satisfactorily illustrated part but this defect was fully remedied by a separate publication, originally forming a supplement, printed also in 1801, of Kathopakathan or Dialogues in Kathopakathan Bengali, with a translation into Eng-Dialogues, 1801

lish, comprising a great variety of idioms and phrases in current Bengali. Carey's extraordinary command over colloquial Bengali is nowhere better exhibited. There are, no doubt, occasional lapses and errors of idiom, which none but a man born to the language can easily realise, yet the extent and variety of topics, the different situations, and of current forms and the different classes of men dealt with

in these dialogues show not only a minute and sympathetic observation and familiarity with

¹ Carey, however, was so very careful to eusmie correctness in this respect that he writes in the Preface "That the work might be as complete as possible, I have employed some sensible natives to compose dialogues upon subjects of a domestic nature, and to give them precisely in the natural style of the persons supposed to be speakers. I believe the imitation to be so exact that they will not only assist the student, but furnish a considerable idea of the domestic economy of the country". It will be seen therefore that the authorship of the entire book does not rest with him, but that the dialogues other than those of a domestic nature were his own. But even these surely reflect great credit on him as a scholar of Bengali

the daily occupations of the people their manners feelings and ideas but also a thorough acquaintance with the resources of the language in its difficult collequial forms. The book is indeed a rich quarry of the ideoms (and even of the ideas of the class or professional shibboleth) of the spoken dialect of Beugal and in an age of mere or main translation, of tentative accumulation of vocability and experimental adaptation of arrangement its value is very great. But to this book belongs also the credit of making an early and original attempt to give

Its picture of social in a crude semi-dramatic form a faithful reflection of the social life

in Bengal as it existed a centric ago. The class of men who are supposed to carry on these dialogues or collogues ranges from that of a Shahib a respectable Bengali gentleman a merchant axemindar and a Brihman priest to that of a peasant a low class woman a day labourer a fisherman and a beggar. The more regular and measured language of the upper classes is put side by side with the loose style and talk of uncultured women and the lower orders in different situations. Independently of its ment as a help to the acquisition of the language this work presents in many respects a curious and hively picture of the manner of life led by the middle and lower classes. The faithfulness of this picture is

Its realism guaranteed by the fact that even in the present day it has not lost all the

force and precision of its realism. In his celebrated Sauscrit speech before Lord Wellesley at a public disputation of the College Carey speaking of his knowledge of the country said. I now an old man have hired for a long series of years among the Hindoos. I have been in the habit of preaching to multitudes daily of discoursing

with the Bihmans on every subject, and of superintending schools for the instruction of the Hindoo youth

Then language is as familiar to me as my own. This close intercourse with the natives for so long a period, and in different parts of our empire, had afforded me opportunities of information, not inferior to those which have

tunities of information not inferior to those which have hitherto been presented to any other person. I may say indeed that their manners, customs, habits, and sentiments are as obvious to me as if I was myself a native."

The colloquies begin with a sketch of the conversations of an English gentleman, his method Scope and arrange of hiring servants, giving out orders, ment of the work his desire of learning Bengali, his talks with his munsi etc. The preponderance of Persian words in these dialogues is thus explained by Carey "A Khansama of a Sirkar, talking to an himself European (and vice versa) generally intermives his language with words derived from Arabic or Persian and some few corrupted English and Portuguese words" The rest of the colloques deal with the conversations and ideas, mostly of the middle and lower classes of the people of Bengal, living in the remote villages colloquies may be conveniently arranged thus different heads of subjects

(1) Conversation relating to everyday life of middleclass country gentlemen (2) Talks about land, its cultivation, farming, produce, rent etc (3) Talks about business matters e g between a debtor and his creditor etc

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Buchanan, op cit Translation of the speech of Carey at p 168, also quoted in Smith, op cit pp 167-169, also Roebuck, op cit p 60

(4) Conversation 'both in friendly and contentious style between women of various types their going to market etc. (a) (eneral talks about eating journeying taking counsel etc. (c) Conversation among lower classes of people of labourers fishermen beggars etc.

Of the colloquies under heads (1) and (3) which are the more interesting of the whole group those entitled प्रमाल प्रमाणक लाहीरम लाहीरम (1 discourse of respect able old people) दोदानि (An agreement of marriage) वृश्य अ १४६/न (1 priest and his customer) and the last collogue entitled simply orginara (Convenation) on the subject of marriage between two of stake are the best. The conversation of the ghataks although a more subdued preture would remind one of the ghatik in Ram narayan s Kulin kulz-artasca Some specimens of unconteions humour will be found in 1100 measured formal speeches of the priests (in what Carey calls the grave style") as contrasted with the imple talks of laymen We give below an extract from the first named of these colloquies which throws much light

colloquies which throws much light

An extract quoted on the sound life in the village and at the same time illustrates the more

serious style of Carey in these dialogues -

ীহার স্রাঙুপুরেরা কেম্ন নাছেন।

তাঁহারা মহারাম ১৯৭১টা ওাঁহারদের সহিত্য করে করা তাঁহারবের প্রতিযোগিতার লোক মাধার মেশে নাই।

এবারে কো ।ানীয় কার্য্য পাইরা মহাবদাচা হইরাছে ওাহারদের সমান বনীলোক আদার দেশে চাকরী করিবা হইতে পারে নাই।

কেবন বনীও নই বিষয়ও ধনেক ক্ষিয়াছে আজি লাগাএছ ক্রন্থেন লাকো টাকার অমিয়ায়ি ক্ষিয়াছে।

শ্যএই ভাগোর ব্যক্ত দেশাবিকি তাঁখারা কি ছিলেন এখন বা কি ইইরাছেন । এ আপুন ধুনিরা কর্মাগাছ হবৈছে। তাঁহাবদেব পূর্ব্ব বিবৰণ আনবা ননস্তই জানি। নাতাপিতাৰ ছঃথেব প্ৰিসীমা ছিল না।

বতগণে বঙ ভট্টাচার্য্য কিছু দিতেন তবেই সে দিন নির্নাহ ২ইত নতুবা হবিনটুক।

এখন ঈশ্বব তাহাবদিগকে অতিশয় উন্নত কবিরাছেন ঈশ্ববাধীন কর্ম্ম বঙকে ছোট কবিতে পাবেন ছোটকেও বড কবিতে পাবেন।

আনি চিবকাল দেশছাডা তাহাবদেব আহাব ব্যবহাব কি প্রকাব। তাহাবদিগেব আহাব পবিচ্ছদ ভাল বটে।

নিতান্ত আখ্মীৰ অন্তবন্ধ লোকেব উপবাব কৰা আছে কিন্তু দানাদি সৰ্ব্বতোভাবে নাই।

ক্রিয়াকর্ম এই ফণে থেরূপ কবিতেছে সে নিন্দিত নয়। কং জমিদাবি যে কবিবাছেন সে শাসিত কি প্রকাব।

জিমিদাবি কথন ছিল না এই ফলে হইবাছে কিও শাসন স্থলবৰ্ষপ কবিতে পাবে নাই এ বিধয়ে বিজ্ঞ নয ইহাতে প্ৰজালোকেবা স্থথাতি কবে না।

কহ বেৰূপ বড়শানুষ হইরাছেন তাহাব মত চলন কিনা লওয়াজিনা কি মত।

লওয়াজিমা যেমত কবিয়াছেন তাহাব মত ওঠক বৈঠক নয়। নিত্যক্রিয়া কিরূপ কবেন।

এক প্রহব দশ দণ্ডেব নধ্যে স্থান কবিয়া পূজা বিশিষ্টক্রপ কবিয়া জলপান ভোজন কবেন কুটুম্ব সাক্ষাৎ যে থাকেন একএ ভোজন হয় না।

অতিথি দেবা ইইরা থাকে কি না। তাহাতে আনোদ ("reputation" Carey) কেমন।

অতিথিসেবা কবিরা থাকেন বিশিষ্টক্নপে হয় না। আমোদ স্কলব নাই। ঈশ্ববসেবা কি বাবা কবিয়াছেন।

ঈশ্বব্যেবা কবেন বটে কিন্ত বিশিষ্টক্লপে নয় শিবলিঙ্গ ও বিগ্রহ ও শালগ্রাম সকলি সংস্থাপন কবিগ্নাছেন। বসংবাটী কেনত করিয়াছেল চ

বাটা চকুৰ্মিলে চকুমিলান ক্ষিয়া তিন চাষি মহল ক্ষিয়াছেল।

গুনিদান সমাধানে আমত্ব আর সকলেই আদিরাছিদেন ভাষাতে কিপ্রশাসকলেও ভারতাত্ত করিয়াছেন।

ইবরী প্রস্থানে আধ্যে প্রায় কর্ণনি আনিয়ছিলেন ভারতে ভবাব্যায়ৰ বিভারিত ক্রিয়াছেন স্থানাধি বাহন্য বটে।

শার্থীর পূজা সচনা করিয়া থাকেন।

ম্বর পূজাও বেশের অন্ত অস্ত দোক বে প্রকার করে ভারার অংশকা বছা।

ক্ষবেশ চারি পাঁচ হালার টাকা বার আদ্ধন ভোলনাদি তিন দিন ক্ষয় ক্ষয় লোকে মিটার পাওবাইরা পাকেন বটে।

ক্মার বিবাহ ধিবাছেন কি নাঃ

বড় কল্পার বিবাৎ অষ্ট্রধবর্ধে নৈকয় কুশীন স্থানিরা দিহাছেন। পাএট স্থানী এখবা বটে।

বিবাহের সময় বার কিমত কবিয়াছিলেন ঘটক কুনীনের আগসন কিমত হুইয়াছিল তাহারদের বিহার কিঞাল করিয়াছেন।

কুৰীন প্ৰায় হই তিন শত ঘটকও পাঁচ ছব শত আনিবাছিল। ভাৰাবদেৰ বিধাৰ বেষত কৰিবাছিলেন ভাৰাতে স্থাতি বুইৱা ছ 1

This is the specimen of the graver style but more colloquial and easy are the dislogues under the heads (2)

More colloquial style and (3), although these colloquies it should be noticed as well as those between Euglish gentlemen and his servants are full

Dialogues intended t f cil tat the cq rs g of the Bangules La gauge by W Carey D D Mission Press 1818, lat Ed pp. 96-86; 3rd Ed. pp. 36-40 See also 3rd Ed. pp. 108 110 (1st Ed. pp. 208-217) for the description of a marriage and the expenses incurred at the weeding

(3rd Ed pp 88-108)

of Persian words which are comparatively absent in the domestic talk under other heads of subjects. Business matters have a language of then own, but Persian for a long time was the conit-language and all business matters were transacted ın language Not only words like নালিক, of Preponderance Persian words দত্তকর্জা, থাতিবজ্ঞা, একবাব, সবুব, মহওল, তজবিজ, জমিন, নজৰ which have become almost naturalised ın Bengalı but even unfamılıaı words like তক্সিব, তব্গদ বুবা, নাকুল, এলান, আঞ্জান, এৎবাব, থোডা, are frequently used Ot the other colloquies, that on "A Landlord and his tenant" ("জনিগাৰ বাইযত") too long, however, for quotation here, is the most remarkable as giving a true pieture of the relation between the landlords and their tenants

The colloquies spoken by the lower orders are bound to be very interesting, but it is to be regretted that these dialogues are very short and not very. The language of the well-written and their number too is small. The language here must of course differ considerably both in pronunciation and vocabulary from that already quoted. The following short extract will be found illustrative,

## তিয়বিয়া কথা।

হাঙে ভেগো মাচকে থাবি কি না আতিতো কোয়া কোয়া কবিছে। মুই ফুকাবছি তুই ঘুমাইছিগ।

বা। এক কাপকড়ে আইয়াছে। হাঁা ম্যাগ পড়েছে এখন কি জালে যাবাছ সময়। যা চেঁদে তুই মুইতো এখন যাব না। কালি চেব আতি থাকিতে গিষাছিয়ঁ। বাড বলে থাবাব মাচ পেয়ঁ না তাতো আজি ম্যাগ পড়েছে।

হাতে তাই খ্যাবের তরে বোদের কাম চলে না ত্যাবেতা মাগ ছাওয়ালকে তাত কাশক হিছে। তোর বড় দেখি প্রকাগের শড়ীন হইয়াছে।

The colloquies of women are very faithful and realistic but some of the pictures are too gross language of and the language sometimes even women borders on indecency? The ladges however who figure in these colloquies belong it seems mostly to the ancultured lower classes and here and there all Billingsgate seems to be let Grossness of tone loose at once. It is true that and language women as Carey says speak a language considerably differing from that of the men especially in their quarrels yet he would be far from right if he supposes that this is the measure of women a talk in Bengal Quotations from these will not be

It is bette to appe d Carey tran lati n of this passage h re-

## Pukerman talk

Haloo, Shego will you go a fishi g ? "Tis getti g light I called You was asleep.

Aye, aye this is a excuse. Hah; it rains is it tim to go to the not a now? Go yo to a purpose. I wo tgo n w Yesterday I went long before light by so doing I did not get fiable to sot, and to-day it rails.

Yes, brother my work wint go no by the fear of clouds. Shall I be able to clothe and feed my wife and children thus? I see you have a body formed for case (Dialog ex, lat Ed pp. 110 et seq; 3rd Ed. pp. 58-57)

Possibly these dialogues were written by the sensible instines" whom Carry imployed ( ide sate footnot p. 186) and who might have misled him. See especially the collog y hoaded ৰাইয়া কৰন (W men Quarrel) begin in g with 'কুমি কোৰাই বিয়াছিলা শাঙাকেন্ট্ৰী (Dielog es, lat Ed. pp. 189-164; 3rd Ed. p. 82. of seq.)

welcome but here is one dialogue in the "friendly style"

sufficiently harmless and representative wherein the ladies seem to
belong the middle class

তোগবা কৰ যা।

আদি সকলেব বড খানাব আব তিন যা আছে।

কেনন যায় যায় ভাব আছে কি কালেব নত।

আহা ঠাকুবাণী আমাব যে জালা আমি সকলেব বড জানাকে তাহারা অমুক-বৃদ্ধিও কবে না।

আলো দকলেই কি একে।

না। তাহাব মধ্যে ছোট ছুঁডি ভালমান্তবেব মাইযা সেইতি আনাকে উপবোধবাদ কৰে।

৩বে তাহাবি সাথে তোমাব প্রীতি আছে।

প্রীতি আছে বটে। কিত্ত সকলে অসৎ তাহাতে সেও সেই মত হয় বা।

দে এখন ছোট আছে তুই একটুকু আস্থা নমতা কবিস তবে সে তোবি কানোভা হইবে।

আমাব কানোডা হবে সে এমন কানোডা হবাব যোগ্য ন্য বাঁশ হইতে কঞ্চি দুড়।

৩বে যে বলিলি সে কিছু ভাল।

ভাল সে কেমন ভাল আমাকে বড একটা তুচ্ছ মুচ্ছ কবে না। তবু ভাল কেমন তোব ছাল্যা পিল্যাডাব সেবা স্ক্রুয়া কবে।

হাঁ তা বটে। আমাব ছাল্যা পিল্যা প্রায় তাহাবি কাছে থাকে সে তাহাবদিগকে থাওয়ায় ধোয়ায়।

আব আব মাগীবা দিন বাত কচ কচ ঝক ঝক কবিতেছেই তাহাব কামাই নাই বাবণেব চিলুব মত জ্বলিতেছেই। সদা মাথামুঙা খাওয়া আছেই।

তবে কাহারু সাতে কাহাব প্রীতি নাই।

প্ৰায় না প্ৰীতি কি ভাল মুধে আলাপ ও নাই কেবন মাধামুড়া খাওয়া কাটাবাটা মাতা।

ওলো তোর ভাতার কারে কেমন ভালবানে তাহা বল ভুনি।

মাহা তার কথা কও কেন এখন আরু আনারদের কি আধর আহে নৃত্যনর দিপে মন ব্যতিরেক প্ররাত্যনর দিগে কে চাহে।

তা হউক। ভূই শক্ষেত্র বহু সোর ছাল্যা পিল্যা হইবাছে।

কাৰি বে ভাই হপুর বেলা ৭৮৭৮ লাগালে মাধুর বেটা ভাল কি বলিব।

कि यस २०२७ स्टेन।

एवं कव छोरे। छोश कहिर्दा भाव कि इस्त स्वास्त किनिया मन বলিবে আমার বাডীভরা শক্ত এই মার ছব করি।

বভ বৌ আমার মাধার দিকিং সতা করিবাবল।

কালি ছপুর বেলা ছোট বৌ রাভিরাছিল ইছার মধ্যে আমার ছালা আরে ভাত ধাইবাছিল ইয়ার মধ্যে মাক্রানালী আনিরা কলক वांत्रज कड़िता।

তোর গো বাঙাব মাইরাখনা কের কাল ভান দেখিতে পারে না।

কি ক্রিণ এমত ঠাই নাই যে সেধানে গিরা দশ পাঁচ দিন থাকিলে গাৰ বাভাগ লাগে।

কেন তোর ভাইদের বাড়ী দিন কত বা না কেন।

তাৰারখের বাড়ী হাব কি তারা কলৈ তবে ভাইবাকীরখের কাছে রকা আছে। আনার ভাইদের নাম ভানিতে পারে নাকেউ। কর্তা বিনি তিনি হম্ম ভাৰাভাৰিত্ব মন্ত বাড়ী প্ৰাত্ত বাহেন না বৰ্ষন স্মাইলেন তখন গালাগালি পির্থায় করেন।

ভোরদের সংসারের অমত ঐক্য ছিল এখন এমত খনৈক। ংইবাছে। নাইরা চটার বিবাহ দিতে পারিলে আমি বাতটা শরা দিয়া মান করি কুলাই চতির আন্সেদজোভরাপান এবচনীপুলা করি মনহামনা সিছ করিলে হয়।

মায়্যাব বিবাহেব কোথায় ঠাওব ২ইয়াছে দেশেব মধ্যে না বিদেশে দিবা।

ঈশ্বৰেৰ মনে কি আছে ব্ৰিতে পাৰি না আনাব ইচ্ছা দেশেব মধ্যে হইলে ভাল হয়।

তোমাব যাবা সকলে কি বলে মাইবাব মামা মামী কি বলে পাঁচটাব যে ৭৩ সেই কর্ত্তব্য।

সে যে ২উক। আমি বাভী যাই বেলা গেল এখনি গালাগালি দিবে।<sup>1</sup>

This is indeed a fine piece but the Women's Quariels are not so attractive. Critics have found fault with Carey the missionary for giving these latter gross colloquies a place in his book which was intended to be a text-book for young civilian students—but fastidious considerations apart, these dialogues certainly exhibit the true picture of a certain type or class in every society, interesting to the student of the diama, novel, or social history. A strong tendency to objective realism in Carey demanded a verbatim

Its intense realism, both in its form and spirit

reproduction of the language of the people, had he listened to his missionary scruples, the picture, like Johnson's in Rasselas, would have

been unnatural or imperfect. In this respect Carey has been called, not unwisely or too enthusiastically, the

The significance of the book Carey of the Dialogues is the spiritual father of Tek chand and Dina bandhu

spiritual father of Tek-chand, and Dīnabandhu That Carey had fine dramatic instincts, which if developed would have borne better fruits, and that he was more than a mere

compiler, has been put beyond all doubts by the Colloquies

<sup>1</sup> Dialogues, 1st Ed pp 148 156, 3rd Ed pp 76 82

which to the student of Bengah is more than a mere treatist, intended to facilitate the acquiring of the language

We have dwelt rather too long on Carey's Dialogues but the importance of the book in the light of subsequent history can never be ignored. With regard to the style and language of all these dialogues it should be noticed that here we have at the outset the first trace of the opposition between the plain and.

The struggle between the plain a d the or nat style first begun the opposition between the plann and the ormate styles in prose which is to dominate the rest of its history and reach to a crisis in the opposition of

the Alah style and the Sansent College style of the fifties. We shall have occasion to come back to this point hereafter but it is to be noted here that this perpetually recurring antinomy in the history of processtyle was for the first time clearly posed and definitely worked out by Carey's simple collequial proce on the one side and the claborate diction of the Pandits especially of Mrtynfighy on the other

The best example of a claste and simple style more dignified than the colloq and prose of the Dialognes more pure and correct than the prose of Rum Rum Basa or Chandl charan yet less affected than the ornate and litherwals 181... laboured style of Mrtyuñiay is to be found in the Ilihar mālā of Carey which chronologically however comes after almost all the important Bengali publications of the Fort William College except Prabolh-chandrikā and Prins-parlējā, and consequently had the advantage of having got more time for maturing in the meanwhile. It was printed and published in Srinampri in 1812 and as its name implies, it is a collection of stones in the Bengali language, collected

from various sources." The book contains 150 stories, derived not only from books of fables and folk-lore, eastern and western, but also from past literature, legends, and history. There are, for instance, besides tales from Hitopades of Pancha-tantra, the well-known story of Lahanā and Khullanā<sup>2</sup> as well as an anecdote of Akbar<sup>3</sup>. The stories are very amusing and instructive, but the book consists mostly of translation and its interest chiefly lies in its simple homely prose style. It is difficult to select a specimen for space would not allow us to quote

Specimen of its pure extract will be found interesting not only for its style but also for the touch of humour which is rather rare in these early works.

বিবাহ হইতে ভবিবাদ শক্ত যে প্রেদিদ্ধ আছে তাহাব কথা এই।

একজন ঘটক ব্রাহ্মণ অর্থাৎ বিবাহেব যোজক এক বনেব মধ্য

দিবা আসিতেছিল সে স্থানে এক ব্যাঘ্র ঐ ঘটক ব্রাহ্মণকে মাবিতে
উদ্যত হইলে ব্রাহ্মণ ভীত হইয়া ক্রন্দন কবিতে লাগিল। ব্যাঘ্র ঘটকেব

ক্রন্দন দেখিয়া জিপ্রামা কবিলেক তুমি কি কাবণ কান্দিতেছ ব্রাহ্মণ
কহিলেক আমি বটক বিবাহেব যোজকতা কবিয়া ধনোপার্জন কবিয়া
স্ত্রী পুত্র প্রভৃতিব ভবনপোষণ কবি আমি মবিলে তাহাবা কোনমতে
বাঁচিবেক না ইহা শুনিবা ব্যাঘ্র বিবেচনা কবিল আমি ব্যাঘ্রীহীন

ব্রাহ্মণ বিবাহেব যোজকতা কবে প্রে কহিলেক হে ঘটক তুমি

আনাব বিবাহ দেও ব্যাঘ্রী না গাকাতে আমি বড হঃখী আছি তুমি

আনাব বিবাহ দিলে ভানি তোমাকে নই কবিব না। ব্রাহ্মণ ব্যাধ্রেব

Distributed over 320 pages

<sup>2</sup> Itihās mālā, p 210

<sup>3</sup> ibid, p 314

<sup>\*</sup> ibid, story 16 pp 37 10

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বাকা প্ৰবৰ কৰিব। কৰিবেক বিবাহ কয়া বড় কৰিন অৰ্থনা হইলে হয় না। বাম কহিংশক আমি কর্থ দিতে পারি ব্যায় পূর্বে একলন লোক মারিয়াছিল তাহার খনেক মর্ব ছিল সে লেই সকল আর্ব বান্ধণের নিকটে উপত্তিত করিলে ব্রাহ্মণ অর্থ লইছা করিলেক এই শর্পেতেই তোমার বিবাহ হুইবেক কিছু বিবাহের পূর্বা অধিবাস করিতে रहेरवक रत वक काँगेन। बाग्र कहिरमक वित्र आनाव विवार हम তবে অধিবাদ ৰে শতু তাহাআনদি ক্রিব। পরে ব্রাহণ কহিল মানি গ্রামে পিরা অবিধানের সামগ্রী আরোমন করিয়া মানি। সাত্র ঘটককে শনেক অর্থ বিরা বিবার করিবেক। ত্রাহ্রণ বাটী মানিয়া চর্মকারের বাটা গিলা এক চৰ্মের কৰা বয় বইৰ বাহাতে আছা বছন হয় ও ঐ বনে শইরা পেল ব্যান্ত সেই স্থানে বদিরা জাঙে ব্রাহ্মণ কল প্রিত বাজের নিকটে বিরা কহিল এই অবিবাদের সামগ্রী ইহার মধ্যে তাবেল करिया ठाँवि रेख नेबन करिएक करेंद्रक । यांच दियांक्व बाक्सांस ঐ কৰের মধ্যে শয়ন করিবেক। আছেব কৰের ছারা ব্রুল করিয়া শ নংক একম হইরা ঐ কল প্রিত ব্যাহ্রকে নদীতে ধেলাইরা দিনেক। বাষ করের শহিত নদীতে ভানিতে লাগিল ইতিমধ্যে এক বাজী দেবিহা ঐ চর্ম কল ধরিলেক ভিজে চর্ম দত্তে ছিড়িয়া দেশাইশেক। তথন বাজের সহিত সাক্ষাং **হটন** ব্যাল থাখীকে দেখিবা বড় সন্ধট হইয়া উভৰেন মিদন হইব। ব্যাস ও ব্যাস্ত্রী ঐ আছেপের বানীতে গেল বাদ্দণ দেখিয়া বড় ভীত হইল ব্যাগ্ন বাদ্ধ্যকে বড় ভীত বেৰিৱা অনেক প্ৰকাৰ অভয় বাকা কৃষ্ণি ভূমি ভাষাৰ বিবাহের বটক আমি ভোগাৰে ভূষ্ট কলিঙে মানিলাছি এই কথা কহিলা আদ্দণকে অনেক অর্থ দিয়া প্রণাম করিয়া সেই বনে গেক।

A more laborous and important publication was

Carey's Bengali Dictionary 1816-1825

Canguage in two quarto volumes With

hardh a model before him except Porster's Focabulary

or Miller's Dictionary, t neither of which is hardly complete in itself, Carey achieved this useful and scholarly work after a labour of thirty years and it deserves all the proise that has been bestowed upon at Though, like his Grammar, it hardly belongs to the province of literature pure or proper, this book did much in stimulating the cause of literature and fixing the forms and expressions of the language, and for a long time it continued to be the standard work on the subject. The first volume was published in 1815, but the typographical form adopted being found likely to extend the work to an inconvenient size, it was subsequently reprinted in 1818, a second volume in two parts appeared by 1825. These three volumes comprehend about 2,000 quarto pages and about 80,000 words2, a number that equally denotes the comousness of the language and the industry of the compiler Besides the meaning of words, their derivation is given where-ever ascertainable. This is almost always the ease as a great many of the words included are Sanserit or Sanseritic Halhed (Grammar, Preface p xx) had long since maintained "the impossibility of learning the Bengali dialect without a general and comprehensive idea of the Sanscrit" on account of the close and intimate relation between the two Following him, Carey himself always regarded Sanscrit as "the parent of nearly all the colloquial dialects of India"3 and "the current medium of conversation amongst the Hindoos, until gradually corrupted by a number of local causes, so as to form the languages at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Said to be published in 1801 (Long's Catalogue)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Forster's *Pocabulary* contained only 18,000 words Carey, however, acknowledges his indebtedness to Forster in the Preface to his *Dictionary* 

<sup>3</sup> Preface to Sanscrit Grammar, 1806

present spoken in the various part of Hindoosthan and perhaps those of some of the neighbonning countries"! Carey therefore observes with regard to the materials of his Dictionary that considerably more than three fourth of the words are pure Sungskrit and those composing the greatest part of the remainder are so little corrupted that their origin may be traced without difficulty. He also states that he has endeavoured to introduce into the Dictionary every simple word used in the language and all the compound terms which are commonly ourrent or which are to be found in the standard Bengali works. It may be thought indeed that in the latter respect he has been more scrupulous than it was absolutely necessary and has inserted compounds which might have been dispensed with their analysis being obvious and their elements being explained in their apprepriate places. The Dietionary also includes many derivative terms and privative attributive and abstract nouns which though of legitimate construction may rerely occur in composition and are of palpable signification The instances of such although they swell the dictionary into an inconvenient and costly hulk evince at the same time the compiler's careful research his conscientions exactitude and his unwearied indostry. The English equivalents of the Bengah words are well-chosen and are of unquestionable accuracy? Local terms are rendered with that correctness which Carey's knowledge of the manners of the people and his long domestication amongst them enabled him to attain and his scientific acquirements and familiarity with the subjects of natural history qualified him to employ and not unfrequently to

Profect to Bengal Dictionary 1818

See H H. Wilson, Remail on the Theracter and Labours of Dr.

Carry as an Oriental Schol r d Translator

devise, characteristic denominations for the products of the animal and vegetable world peculiar to the East The objection taken to this *Dictionary* on account of its bulk, was subsequently removed by the publication

Marshman's abudgement, 1827 of an abudgement, prepared under Carey's own superintendence by J Maishman and printed in 1827<sup>1</sup>

Most of the compound and derivative terms were omitted and the publication was reduced to a thick octavo volume Although this abridgement has the advantage of being more readily consulted, it does not however by any means obviate the necessity of the original which must be regarded as a standard work on the subject until replaced by a better one

In order to make a final estimate of Carey's position in the history of modern Bengali literature it would be

Estimate of the labours and character of Carey as a writer of Bengali necessary to take into account other writers who flourished in this period and with respect to whom his position must be determined, yet it is hoped that a few words here would

not be out of place—It may be observed that Carey never claimed anything for himself save the credit of having worked zealously and assiduously—He said to his nephew Eustace—his future biographer—"If after my removal any one should think it worth while—to—write—my—life,—I will—give—you—a—criterion—by—which—you may judge of its

Consectness If he give me ciedit how far true of being a plodder he will describe me justly Anything beyond this

This is in 2 vols. The first volume is an abridgement of the pieceding Dictionary of Carey (Bengali English), the second is a Dictionary, English and Bengali, compiled by J. C. Marshman. 1st Ed. vol. I, 1827 vol. II, 1828, 4th Ed. 1847

will be too much I can plod I can persevere in any definite pursuit To this I owe everything! There is indeed some truth in this self-estimate but the modesty of the scholar procludes him from ascertaining the true value of his life a work. A plodder he was but how very few can pled in the way he did and this self-decoratory epithet is not the last word to characterise his many sided activity

It cannot be denied at the cutset that Care, had a clear vigorous intellect he was a man of no ordinary powers of mind capable of strennous and enduring application many sided his tastes were varied and his attainment vast. But even admitting all this it must be observed that he had no imagination no philosophic meight no splendid native endowments of any sort. Hardly any of hi writings can be strictly

translator

called a work of genins Whether he was a modestly introduces himself in the Preface to his Dialogues as a more compiler one who paves the way and

leads the student to the higher classical works in the The great want of books" says he to assist in acquiring this language which is current through an extent of country nearly equal to Great Britain which, when properly cultivated will be inferior to none in elegance and perspionity has induced me to compile this small work and to undertake the publishing of two or three more, principally translations from the Sungakrit These will form a regular series of books in the Bengalee gradually becoming more and more difficult tall the student is introduced to the highest classical works in

the language" This was his main object in writing Bengali books he was never inspired by any literary enthusiasm or artistic impulse of creation. His language and his interests are perfectly definite and practical,

Want of originality and creative power

there is hardly any touch of elevation or attempt at fine writing anywhere. That he was capable of better things,

is, as we have already pointed out, obvious from his Dialogues yet even this work was meant chiefly as a text-book, and as such it haidly affoided many oppoitunities for the display of his inherent literary powers Most of his other writings consists of translation or compilation But, although even in translation a capable artist has scope for his originality, in Carey's case the translations may be suspected to be pretty closely copiedfrom the texts there is no native literary aspiration to be free and original Yet, after all is said, it must be admitted that whatever talent could achieve without genius, Carey did accomplish If he wrote no great imaginative work, he at least prepared the way for the writing of such We need not lament over the want of orrginality so conspicuous in his writings for in the special circumstances it makes far more for his honour than for his depreciation His literary work was inspired not

The value and significance of his translation

by any desire of fame not by any need of satisfying a peremptory personal claving to write, but wholly and solely by the wish of what he

thought to be benefitting the people, of doing something that might help the country out of the slough of decadence into which it had been plunged by centuries of foreign rule, least favourable to the development of national life or literature. To this end, it would have been not merely presumptuous but, in the circumstances and the

time positively silly to have attempted original composition which wa likely to be little read and little understood

What then is his place? He had no originality as a worker in literature and no creative literature.

But he was a good reproducer of knowledge and as an educator of

the nation his work and his influence were alike very great

Discouraged by the authorities and noder the Company hable to deportation he and his colleagues dovoted themselves with courage to evangelisation and study of the vernacular. Of this we shall have occasion to speak more in detail but it is chiefly for this educational purpose as an indirect means of evangelisation that his books were written. They are all rudimentary no doubt but to them belongs the merit of first reducing to a system the chaotic colloqualism of the Bengali tongue. Anoning full well that the literature of a nation in the long run must be of

indigenous growth he at once present into service Bengali scholars and writers. By his own exertions as well as by those of others which he instignted or superintended

h left not only the students of the language well provided with elementary books but supplied standard compositions in prose for the native writers of Bengali and laid the foundation of a cultivated prose style and a flourishing literature throughout the country. It cannot indeed be said that Carey and his colleagues have raised Bengali to the rank of a literary dialect as the Jesnits of Madras are said to have done to the language of the South. None

Hunter I dots Empire p. 504. In the same strain Smith the anthesiastic biographer of Carry says for the Bengall speaking race William Carry created a literary language a century ago (op cit p. 180). Y de sate p. 61

of the works of these missionaries is acknowledged to-day as classical by Bengali authors or Bengali readers, and Bengal had a language and literature of its own long before the missionaires even dreamt of coming out to this country, yet this language had decayed and the literature had been forgotten It was at this time that Carey came to Bengal In order to understand what he did for literature we must recollect in what state he had found it when he made the There was hardly any printed book, manusfirst start cripts were raie, and all aitistic impulse or literary tradi-

tion was almost extinct

The character and object of his work

belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, capable, as in the past, of

To Carey

becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future Poetry there was enough in ancient literature, there was a judiment of prose too, not widely known or cultivated But Carey's was indeed one of the earliest attempts to write simple and regular prose for the expression of everyday thoughts of the nation Other writers contemporaneous with him, like Ram Basu. or Mrtyunjay took Peisian of Sanscrit as their model and their prose in consequence became somewhat quaint, affected

and elaborate, but the striking feature Carey's prose of Carey's prose is its simplicity is pervaded by a strong desire for clearness and for use, and by a love of the language itself It succeeds in being clear and useful and it pleases by force of these elements It is true that, in spite of all this, Carey must be admitted to have been in literature still a learner, not a master, in any sense, but we must not in our haste forget the pioneer who did the spade-work and paved the way for later glories Such a proneer Carey was, and eminently

fitted for this task he was by his acquirements as well as by his position

We have seen that Carey not only wrote in Bengali himself but with his influence in the Fort William College and reputation as a Bengali scholar Africad of Bengali and friend of Bengali writers be

succeeded in inducing many learned Bengalis to the promotion and preparation of good Bengali works. With the aid of the Press at Srinimpur and the

works. With the aid of the Press at Srimmpur and the collaboration of his colleagues and in subordination to its special purpose of multiplying copies

The Press at Stricting pur and its encourage ment of native talent.

The Press at Stricting pur and its encourage ment of native talent.

Self to the printing as we shall see of the first efforts of native literary.

talent From 1801 to 1825 many useful works in Bengali as well as in other languages! issued from the Mission Press at Srintimpur to most of which Carey contributed encouragement and aid. Many of the older Bengali classics were printed at the Mission and made accessible to the read mg public. The editions of the Rawsyan of Kritibis and the Annadawaniyal of Bharat-chandra published through the zeal of Carey remained for a long time the standard texts

In the Appendix to the Tenth Memor relative to Gristmpur translations (1832) is given a review f the work of the Mission since its commencement. It is shown that two hundred and twelve thousand volumes in forty different languages at a cost of over 280,000 have been issued between 1801 and 1833. The Mission was practically the first in the field in its assideous study of the different dislocts and languages of India. In the Sixth Memo (dated March, 1818) we find 34 specimens of 33 indian languages given. The whole discovering Grieron points out (Indian A tiquery 1803, p. 243) is the first in his Oriest I Fabelist (1805) had attempted to give a polyglot version of 25 sop ef bles but he confused himself to giving specimens only in six languages including the classical Sancerti and Arabio.

of these ancient works. The promotion of Bengali literature thus effected by the example and impulse of the Press of Śrīrāmpui had been very important, although after 1825 it became less necessary because of numerous printing press springing up in Calcutta for the promotion of indigenous talent. But this alteration of the state of things after 1825 is itself due mainly to the example and influence of Carey and the missionaires at Śrīrāmpui

Nothing would be more fitting to close this perfunctory estimate of Carey and his works than the high tribute paid to Carey by a competent authority, the celebrated

The tribute of Rain Kamal Sen

Sen "I must acknowledge here" he says in the Piefaee to his Bengali-

lexicogiaphei and seholai, Rām Kamal

English Dictionary (1830), "that whatever has been done towards the revival of the Bengali language, its improvement, and in fact, the establishment of it as a language, must be attributed to that excellent man, Di Carey, and his colleagues, by whose liberality and great exertions, many works have been carried through the press, and the general tone of the language of this province has been so greatly raised"

#### CHAPTER VI

## THE PUNDITS AND MUSSIS OF THE FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE

After William Carey the next writer of importance who composed two of the earliest original works in Ram Ram Basin.

Bengal prose was Ram Ram Basin who unlike Carey was a native of Bengal born at Chinsurah towards the end of the list century and educated at the village of Nimteh in the 24 Pergunnahs He was a Bangaja kRyustha, as is indicated in his Protapalities Charitra. To quote

Dr Carey's account 'Ram Bose
lis appointment i the
College parama and Araba His know

ledge of Sungakut was not less worthy of note 'Such was his reputation for proficiency in these languages that Carev speaks of him admiringly a more devout scholar than him I did nover see 'It was this reputation for learning which secored to him not only the post of a Pundit' in the College of Fort William

Original Papers of Carry a the care of Berompore II estimaty Library q oted in N Ray e Pratapaditya Charitra p. 185

Buchanan, p. cst speaks of him as "a learned native; Marah man, op. cst describes him as one of the most accomplished Bengali scholars of the day

Carey says that Rām Basa resigned his appointment through a difference of opinion with the authorities of the College. The date of his resignation however cannot be differenced. In Rochook, ep. cit (which was published in 1819) we do not find Rām Basu a name in the list of the Bengall Pandits; on the other hand in Buch n op cit. (published 1803) he is described as "a learned native in the College. He must have resigned some where between 1806 and 1818.

in 1801 but also the friendship of  $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}$   $R\bar{a}m$ -mohan  $R\bar{a}y$ , himself a learned man, who is said by Carey to

Influence of Rüm Mohan Rüy have exercised great influence on Ram Basu's life and character and moulded his literary aspirations. It should

be noted here that Rām-mohan, according to some, was the author of the first original prose treatise in Bengali, because his Bengali work on Monothersm (হিশুবিশ্ব পৌত্রিক) was, according to himself, written when he was only sixteen, and supposing him to be born in 1774, or even, according to others, as late as 1780, the book must have been written before any of the publications of the Fort William College or of the Sirrāmpur Press issued But this book meant for private circulation was never printed or published, and Rām-mohan's earliest publication in Bengali was in 1815

Rām Basu's position as the earliest original writer of Bengali prose It seems therefore that Rām Basu's position as the first native original writer in modern Bengali prosestill, after all, remains unassailable But

the influence of Rām-mohan's unpublished work, which Rām Basu is said to have taken as his model, can never be disputed, and it was from the learned Rājā that Rām Basu got the first impulse to write in Bengali Carey reports to have heard that Rām Rām took the manuscripts of his first work, Pratāpādītya Charitra to Rām-mohan, and got it thoroughly revised by him 1.

<sup>1</sup> Rām Basu's Attack on Brahmins (called simply on Brahmins in Murdoch, Catalogue) as well as his other writings show that he shared many of his views with his friend and master, Rāmmohan In Bāngālā Sāmayik Sāhitya (1917), vol 1 p 25, this work of Rām Basu on Brahmins is called circilis and the date given is 1801 Speaking of this work, Marshman op cit says that in it "he exposed the absurdities of Hinduism and the pretension of its priest-hood with great severity" and pays him the compliment of

Although the influence of the Ruju was so great on him, Ram Basu was at the same time a great friend of the Missionaries consorted for many years with Thomas, and was for some time Carey's Munsi

From whatever source the impetus might have come,

Rüm Basu wrote two important

original works in Bengali under the
patronage of the Fort William College—

- 1 Rajā Pratāpadītya Charitra 1 1801 July
- 2 Lipimāla 1802

Pratāpāditya (Airitra 3 is said to be the first prose
work and the first historical one
Prat pād tya Cha
that appeared (Long e Catalogue)
Its claim to be considered as

having wielded the pow f survant i herent in the language with slogular effect." He was almost on the verge of arowing Christinalty (See Culcoss p cut pp. 01-02) but was possibly deterred by Ram mothan. Ram Rim Basu is and to have writtee also a book colled \$\frac{1}{2}\$ 5ff \$\mathbf{x}\$ i 1501 or the Ismost I H at \$r\$ of Christ i Ferse 12 mo. 25 pp. M rioch Catalogue how or dates it at book 1810.

This work like Krysachrandra Röyer Charitra was written at the inducement of Dr. Carey. Rim Ram Basu belood Carey In his translation of the Bible (see footnote to p. 113 See also Cale tta Review vol. z. p. 134). Rim Basu wrote besides the works mentioned above a Christia tract called the Gospel Kresspe which is also mentioned by Long. The description of this tract is thus given in Kardoch, Gataleyse; "Three months later (i.e. June 1800) a Tract was printed under the title of the Gospel Messenger which was written to under in the Bible. This tittle book contained a hundred lines in Bengall verse. The writer Rim Rim Basu, had been convinced of the truth of Christianity through the instruction of Mr. Thomas. The Gospel Messenger was the first thoroughly native tract printed in Bengall" (op cut. p. 4-5). See also Smith op. cit. p. 285; Marshman, Hist of Seromp, Kits pp. 181-182.

The title-page mys: যালা ধানাগারিকাচকিন। বিদি বাস ক্রিক্র বৰ্ণব্যের বুনবাটো এককরে বাস্থাব্যে কার্যনে । যান যান বস্কু যচিক। ইয়ানপুরে the first piece of original piose work we have briefly As an lustorical work, too, its place is very discussed high In the description of it given in Buchanan's College of Foil William (1805), it is said to have been "composed from authentic documents" and Ram Basu himself at the beginning of his book says সংপ্রতি সর্বাব্যে এ দেশে প্রতাপাদিতা নানে এক বাজা ২ইয়াছিলেন তাহাব বিবৰণ কিঞ্চিত পাৰ্বসা ভাৰায় গ্ৰন্থিত আছে As the first histori সাম্পাধনণে সামুদাইক নাহি আমি cal work in Bengali তাহাবদিগেব সম্রেণী একেই ছাতি ইহাতে prose তাহাব ভাপনাব পিতৃপিতানংহব স্থানে শুনা ভাছে অতএব আমবা অধিক জ্ঞাত এবং আব আব অনেকে মহাবাজাব উপাখ্যান আনুপূর্ধক জানিতে আকিঞ্চন কবিলেন এ জন্য বেণত আমাৰ শ্ৰুত আছে ওদন্পৰাদি লেখা বাইতেছে।<sup>1</sup> seems therefore that this work-one of the very few treatises on a little-known period of history is based upon both authentic history and tradition, but the learned pundit seems to have taken every precaution to

ছাপ হৈল। ১৮০১। The History of Raja Pritapadityu By Ram Ram Boshoo one of Pundits in the College of Fort William Scrampore Printed at the Mission Press 1802 pp 1 156 Entered with identical date, place of publication and name of the author in the Catalogue of the Library of the Hon East India Company 1845, p 195 An excellent edition of this work, which had been out of print since the first edition in 1801, has been brought out by Nikhilnath Ray under the auspices of the Sühitya Parisat It is needless to say that I am much indebted for some biographical and other informations to this edition, but with regard to the extracts quoted, I have carefully compared the text given here with that in the first edition, as I find it in the copy of the work lent to me by the Library of the Board of Examiners. The references are given to both the original as well as to N Ray's edition as the latter is more easily procurable. The page reference given here in the text is, in the first place, to the 1st edition (Libiary of Board of Examiners) and then to N Ray's edition

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> রাজা এতাপাদিত্যচরিত্র, pp 34, p 1



and interesting manner, enlivened by visual pictures

descriptions, and anecdotes, and

Ram Basu as an historical incidents, without being dry

or discursive, is undoubted. As a

pioneei in the field this is a high compliment indeed. His is the plain narrative style, suited to his work, with little embellishments (except by way of gorgeous descriptions) or suggestiveness, but marked with a certain interesting idiosyncracy of character in spirit and form

An illustrative extract (The flight of Rum chandra)

It is not possible to give too many extracts but the following, it is hoped, will illustrate his general manner and powers of description

এ দিগে জনে জনে কেদাব বায় প্রভৃতি ভূইরাবদিগকে নিপাত কবিয়া তাহাবদেব বাজা নইল। আপন তবকেব লোক সর্বত্রে কবিয়া বার্জ্য বার্জ্যেব থাজনা আদায়তে প্রবর্ত্ত। তাহাবদেব মধ্যে কেবল বাজা বামচক্র বাকলান্তথালা ভূইয়া তাহাব বাজ্য কবজ কবিল এবং সে পলাবন কবিয়া দেশাগুবি হইল। তাহাব বিববণ এই।

বামচন্দ্র প্রতাপাদিত্যেব জামাতা তাহাব অধিকাবেব উপব চডাই
না কবিয়া ঠাওবাই কোন কৌশলে দেশ কবজ কবে তাহা কবিল একটা
প্রবন্দে নিমন্ত্রণ দিয়া তাহাকে আনাইল ধুন্ঘাট নিজ পূবীব মধ্যে
তাহাতে থাতিবজ্ঞনায় থাকিল ভাবিল এখন কাব্ব তলে থাকিলেন
আবশুক হইলে ইহাকে সংহাব কবলেব আটক হবেক না আব আব
কেদাব বায় প্রভৃতি সমস্তকেই নিপাত কবিয়া তাহাব অধিকাব আপন
লোক দিয়া শাসন কবিলেন।

(vide poste p 171) W Pertsch, the editor of Kşitīs Bamsābalī Chantem (Berlin 1852) alluded to this work but its scarcity even in his day made it difficult for him to obtain a copy and he contents himself by the account of it given in the Calcutta Review, xiii 1850, p 135

ইতিশংবা দ্বানতত্ব ব্যতিবেক আম আর সন্তই করতন আতাশানিতা রাখনাইলেন এখন মানতত্বের রার্জ্যে কবন্ধকরের আটক হইতে পারে না। মাত্র অব্যাতি লোকে বনিবেক লানাতার অবিকার কাছিব। নাইন ইয়া না করিবা বারি উহাকে শুনুর সংহার করিব। মুখুর স্নাতার পর্কতে দিয়া লোকাটার করিবে শক্তাত রার্ল্য কর্ম কর্মে অব্যাতি হবেক না। অত্তরে সেই কর্মন্ত্র।

এই ৰচণা কৰিলা হৰুম হ'লৈ আছেই কোন ক্ৰমে ওতো নহোৰ কৰছ তাহাকে। বিবেচনা এই হইন। প্ৰাতে বখন গাতোহান কৰিলা বাহিকে বাবে সেই কালে নাদত্য ক্ৰমে ছতো তাহান শিৱত্থেশন ক্ৰমে।

এই কথা পৰামৰ্গ হুইংগ আহংগনি লোক হানে হানে নিংলাজিত ইইন। এ সকল কথা পন । পুনী মহো প্রচান হুইংল মালক্ষা ভানিলা উৎকল্পিত ধিবাংলে বানীন পোচন করিতে শালেন না। এইপ্রপ চিঙাতে হিবাপত ইইংল শালতাক্রমে বানীকে এ সকল বুঙাও ভয়তে নিবেধন করিলেন। মান ন্নামাতা এ সকল ভানিয়া বিশ্ববাশধ হুইংলন এবং মংগাচিত কুল ভাবিলেন কি ক্রমে এখান হুইংত নির্দত হুইংত শারা যায়। মালক্ষা ক্রেনে উপায় কিছু ছেদি না করে বুকি ভাগর বৈশ্বস্থায়সা ক্রিকেন।

রার বিভর চিত্তিরা ক্ষিণেল তোনার প্রাত্য উন্থানিত্যের সহিত আনার ববের প্রাণয় কৃষি তাহাকে আ স্থানে আনিতে পারিণে বরি তাহা হবৈতে ইয়ার কোন উনার হয়। রাজক্তা থানী আক্রান্তারে নিকট সমল করিবা আগন সামীর স্থানে করে আনানন করিবান নার গবিন্তাতে বেওরা বিধিত করিবা নারকুমার চিত্তিত ছইরা ক্ষিণেন ইয়ার আমে উপায় কিছু মেনিতেছি না। কেবল একটা স্থাতিক ব্রহারেছা

আছ এই বাজে গৃহপিতাধরের বাটাতে নাচ দেখিবার অধ্যার আহে তালাতে আমার বাজ্যা আবতক ইবাতে বনিত তুমি কিছু কার্ট্রন কর্মো শত্যা কবৈতে পামহ তবে জামি এ সছট ক্রতে মুক্তা ক্রিতে পাবি। বাষ হর্ষ ইইয়া কহিলেন বহু কি কঠিন বার্য্য অন্থ আনি যে বিপদগ্রস্ত যে কোন বর্ণ্যে আমাব উপকাব দর্শে তাহাতেই আনি শক্ত। বাজপুত্র কহিলেন তোমাব পালকি কাঁন্দে লইতে হবে না কিন্ত তুনি গতি কব আমাব অঞ্চলে পবিচ্ছেদানিত হও আমাব মশালচিব পবিচ্ছদে। তবে দেবতা যাহা ককন।

বায় প্রাণেব বন্ধার্থে বাজকুমাবেব মতাবলম্বি হইয়া সভ্যাবিব সমিভাবে মশাল ধবিষা প্রস্থান কবিলেন এই এই এতে এ চর্গন হইতে পবিত্রাণ হইয়া অভিজ্ঞত আপন আমাত্য সমুদ্য নৌকা আবোহিবা ঐ বাত্রে খোন্তা কাটিব নালা মুখল কবিয়া মবিচাপ নদিতে নৌকা দিলে প্রযুদ্ধ হইয়া এককালিন তোব ও বন্দকেব দেহড ও নাকাবা ইত্যাদিতে ৬৯। দিলে শব্দামুসাবে বাজা প্রতাপাদিত্যে চৈত্ত্য পাইষা প্রহ্বিব দিগকে জিগুলা কবিলেন কি শব্দ শুনা যায়। তর্ত্ত কব। বুঝি

In addition to its being the first piece of history in Bengali, the work has an intrinsic interest of its own to the student of literature. The curious style, in which it is written, with its quaintness, its clude orthography and syntax and its tendency towards Persian, has been the subject of much adverse criticism, but considered in the light of literary history it reveals to us certain aspects of the development of prose style in the beginning of the last century. The writer in the Calcutta Review of 1850.

characterises this style as a "kind of mosaic, half Persian, half Bengali" indicating "the permicious influence which the Mahamadans had exercised over the Sanskritderived languages of India" and this view has been endoised by J Long who in his Descriptive Catalogue

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> রাজা প্রতাপাদিতা চরিঞ, pp 130 35 pp 54 56,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The writer was James Long himself See Cal Rev 1850, p 134, Art "Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers".

(1855) speaks of the book as a work the style of which a kind of mosaic, showed how much unjust ascendancy of the Persian language had in that day corrupted the Benguli' Mahamahopadhyay Hamprasad Sustri in one of his lectures 1 condemned the book as 'nnreadable on account of its style. It can not be denied indeed that the etyle is a kind of mosaic -a curious admixture of Bengali and Persian-quaint affected and involved and considered from the standpoint of purity lucidity or simplicity its style is the worst that this period has to show in Bengali prose. It is true that Persian words occur more or less in every writing of this period and we have seen from Carey's Dialogues published only a month

Persian

after the book under review Person Preponderance of words preponderated especially in the colloquial language of a certain class

of people hut no other publication of this period is so much dusfigured by Persian and Urdu words as Riini Basu's Pratapaditya Charifm The following extraots taken at random will bear out the above statement (44)14 [4]84 তক্তে হোমান্ত বাদসাহ তখন ছোলেখান ছিলেন কেবল বল ও বেহারের মবাব পরে হোমাত্র বাদসাহের ওজাত হইলে হেলোভালে বাদসাহ হুইতে ব্যাল হুইল এ কামণ হোমাও ছিলেন বুলত গোটা ভাহার খনেও গুনিল (গুলিন) সভান ভাষারপের আলনারপের মধ্যে আলুকলং হইয়া বিষয়ে বিষয় বক্ষা লভাই কাজিলা উপন্থিং ছিল ইলাতে এবালাভের

Lecture on Bengali L terature a the Present Century (in Bengali) at the Sabitri Library (Published in Bangadarnan, vol. vii and viii, 1287-88 B B) He uses the words चार्चा कर्दा in connexion with this work, which appellations, however are rather too strong It is a lignificant fact that D Yates in his Selection from Bengali Literature f this period (I troduction to the Bengal: Language 1847 vol fi) does not quoto a single extract from Prat pad two Char tra. for its style seems t hav been regarded a not worth study or attention

ভংশিয় ভাগাদা হিছু হইয়াছিল না (p 6-7, p 2)। সে স্থানে গোর পাঠাইয়া দবোৰস্ত জন্ম কাটাইয়েন ও নদা নালার উপৰ স্থানে স্থানে পুলবন্দি কবিয়া বাস্তা ন । কবিলেন ৮৩:পার্মে গোলাগঞ্চ সহব বাজাব নগৰ চাতৰ ও বাগ বাগিচা (p. 18, p. 7)। পাচ লং: বানখ দিলি গেদে ছিল সমত সাম্যম কৰিয়া ৮৫ ম ১১ল গৌডে ৮৬1ই কৰিতে ও দাউ-দেব শিবচ্ছেদন কবিতে (p. 22, p. 9)। ভোডবনল এই ননস্ত দেখিয়া নিবোপায়জনে বিমর্শ হইনা হছুব এংলা কারণ বেওবা পুরন্তবে আবছ-কবিলে বাদ্দাহ মহাবোষাধিত নেনাতে সাজনিবোৰণ ৬%। দিতে হুকুন কবিলেন (p. 22, p. 9)। দাউদ আপনাব দ্বোবন্ত সেনাগ্ৰ উত্তব পশ্চিম ভাগে পাঠাইয়া স্থানে স্থানে মুবচাবন্দি কবিল্লা সভৎ স্বিধানে বহিয়াছে (p. 21, p 8)। এথায় বাদনাহি লগত সেনাপতি বালা তোডবনল ও বালা ওমবাও সিংহ এই ৬ই সেনাপতি সর্বনৈখ লইয়া দাউদেব থানা বথানায় বঞ্জিত হইনা বেগগতি বুট ফশাদ কবিতে সর্পত্র ज्यो श्रेष्ठा वाजगहराव रकतार नाथिन श्रेरावन (pp 28-29, p 11)। শুবা জাতেব কাগজ্ঞাতও কিছু পাইলেন না যে তাহাতে এ তিন শুবাব উল্ল তহশালি স্থাবি তকশালি ওয়াকিক হতান (p 29, p 12)। ইহাতে গুই ভ্রাতা খাতিব জনা হইনা গোল বাজাবদেব সহিৎ ও নজব দিয়া সাখ্যাত কবিলে তাহাবা বিন্তব সন্মান কবিল ১ই ভ্ৰাতাকে খেলাত দিয়া থাতিবদারিতে সে দিবস বাসায় বিদায় কবিল তাহাবদিগকে (pp 32-32, p 13)। তৎপবে প্রতাপাদিত্য যাইষা চতুর্থমানে দিল্লিতে পৌছিলে উকিলেবা পূর্ব্বে সনাচাব পাইয়া দিব্য এক অট্টালিকা মেবামত ক্বিয়া বাথিয়াছিল তাহাতে বাসা হইল ক্ত্রক্দিন পরে বিস্তব বিস্তব তহফা আদি দিয়া বাদসাহেব হজুবে দবপেষ হইলেন (p 60, p 25) It must be borne in mind, however, that at the time the first Bengali prose works were written, Persian and Urdu, as the languages of the Court' and the market-place, were extensively studied and works

<sup>1 1</sup>t was abolished as a Court language in 1836

in those languages were taken as models of composition in Bengali Sanserit was objeffs liow f r justifiable confined to the exclusive class of learned Brahmans and curious scholars Not only Persian and Urdn were learnt by the boys at school together with their mother tongue but even in ordinary conversation Persian words were extensively u ed. Six centuries of Mohammedan rule did not affect in any remarkable degree the manners and customs of the people but they succeeded in throwing the vernacular into the shade and strengthening the supreme anthority of Persian and Arabic from whose rich vocabulary the Bengali language had been borrowing Even up to the time of Ram Mohan ever since when the tendency to Sanscritized style was gradually growing into favour the Persian ideal was not wholly Mohan himself wrote his carliest Ram work in Persian but he was also a profound scholar of Sansent and his later Bengali style was therefore more

Rim B su a mas tery over Persian and adherence to Persian originals ter Bengali style was therefore more sunsentised Ram Basii bowner in spite of Carey's tribute to his knowledge of Sansent seems never to have possessed that command over

the language which his friend Ram Mohan certainly did But Ram Basu's mastery over Persian and Arabic, which seem to have been his favourite subjects was indonbted. Moreover Ram Basu as we have pointed out distinctly says at the beginning of his book that he has based his work upon certain historical treatises in Persian. It may be observed that in the description of wars and court affairs the language of the day could not avoid a certain inevitable admixture of Persian Ram Mohan's subject matter was religion, and his text the Sansorit Sastras; while Ram Basu's interest on the other hand, was in history and the Persian manuscripts

constituted his authorities. As a result, therefore, it was quite natural that in his composition, Persian should have so much influence. Towards the end of Pratāpādilya-charitia, however, and in the description of domestic or emotional matters, Rām Bash has avoided foreign aid and turned naturally to Sanscriticised language in order to attain more vernacular ease. In the following passage on the celebrated episode of Basanta Rāy's murder as well as the description of the flight of Rām-chandra quoted above, it will be seen that the number of Persian words are comparatively few

রাজা প্রতাপাদিত্য কোনকনে হননেব ছিদ্র পায় না বাজা বসন্থ মাথেব পিতাব সাক্ষ্যেবিক প্রাদ্ধেব দিবসে অবাবিতদ্বাব পূর্বাপর থাকে ইত্যাপকাসে রাজা প্রতাপাদিত্য এক দিব্য তলোনাব নগোপনে নইমা ক্ষাহ্য প্রবিশ্ব কবিলে দেখে বাজা বসস্ত বায় লান করিতেছেন ইহাতে বেগে গতি কবিয়া আইসেন। এই ননমে থানসামা বলিল রাজাকে মহাবাজ বাজা প্রতাপাদিত্য বেগে ভাসিতেছেন। ইহাতে তিনি এন্ত হইয়া বলিলেন গলাজল আন। তাহাবর্থ গলাজল নাম তলোয়াব। থানসানা তাহা না বুঝিয়া এক বাটাতে কবিয়া গলাজল উপস্থিত কবিল ইহা দেখিয়া বুঝিলেন প্রনাব এই প্র্যান্ত। ইতিমধ্যে বাজা প্রতাপাদিত্য ভতিবেগে নিক্টন্থ হইয়া তাহাব শিবছেদন কবিলে মুণ্ড ভূমিতলে পতন হইল ইহাতে ভতিশয় কলবব ও হাহাকার শক্ষ হইল। (pp 137-38, pp 57-58)

Moreover, Pratāpādītya-charītra was the first attempt at sustained Bengali prose-writing, and with no model before him, Rām Basu had no other alternative than that of writing in the current language, which was in itself a

corruption of the Persian, in order that his work might easily appeal to all What seems quaint and affected to us was quite natural to readers a

century ago who were accustomed to such corrupted forms. We must make allowance for all these considerations; but after all is said it cannot be denied at least that the style of *Pratapāditya* is one of the worst specimens of Bengali prose-writing even for this period.

In Lipimala however his next work? published in Lipimala 1802 consisting of a collection of letters on various topics, the influence of Persian is almost absent. The Preface to this work in Bengali indicating its object and plan will be found interesting—

স্পৃষ্টি হিল্প ক্ৰাৰণ্ঠা আনৰ নিছিলতা প্ৰব্ৰেছণ উদ্ভিত নত হুইয়া ক্ৰণাম ও প্ৰাৰ্থনা ক্ৰিলা নিৰ্ণেদ কৰা as oppulsed ! ib বাইতেছে ৮—

as explained i th efficient !--

এ হেপুরাল মধ্যক্রল বসংগণ কার্যাঞ্জন এ সময় অংশ্যান্য তে উপরীপীর ও পর্কতন্থ জিবির লোক উত্তম
মধ্যম অংব অংনক লোকের সমাগন হবৈছে এবং অংনক অনেকের
অবস্থিতি ও এইরানে এবন এখনের অবিশৃতি ইংসতীর মহাধ্যেরা
তাহারা এদেশীর চননভাবা অবগত নহিবে রাধ্যক্ষিম হবৈও গারের

This work was re-written in a more popular style by Haris chandra Tarkslabhar at the instance of Rev James Long in 1858 and included in the Bengall Family Library Series (aft) queril (1941) 2nd Edition 1856. It would be interesting to contrast the styles of these two works writte at the interval of 50 years. Haris chandra a version is reprinted in N RLys edition.

The book gives a clue to its date. There is a complete in the Preface which shows that it was composed in আনি ২২ ৮ lt runs thus—শ্ৰহাদিত ক্ষুবা ও শ্ৰেই ব্যা । হয় আনুক্ত ভার কৰিব প্রভাগ ।

This undoubtedly show according to some critics the influence of REm mohan REy who taught the worship of "AW" This influence is also indicated in the present work by its more sanscriticised tyle না ইহাতে তাহাবদিগেব অকিঞ্চন এখানকাব চলন ভাষা ও লেখাপড়াব ধাবা অভ্যাস কবিরা সর্কবিধ কার্য্যক্ষমতাপন্ন হয়েন। এতদর্থে এ ভূমীয় যাবদীয় লেখাপড়াব প্রকবণ গৃই ধাবাতে গ্রন্থিত কবিয়া লিপিমালা নাম পুস্তক বচণা কবা গেল। প্রথম ধাবা হুই তিন অধ্যায় তাহাব প্রথমতো বাজাগণ অন্য বাজাবদিগকে লেখেন তাহাব প্রভূত্তবপূর্বক দ্বিতীয় বাজাগণ আপন সচিবলোককে অমুজ্ঞা ও বিধিব্যবস্থাক্রমদান। ইতি প্রথমধারা। দ্বিতীয় ধাবা সামান্য লেখাপড়া। সমান সমানীকে জ্বরু লঘুকে এবং লঘু গুককে প্রভূ কর্মকবকে এবং অফ্যালা এইমতে পুস্তক লেখা যাইতেছে। ইহাতে অন্যোন্য বিদ্যান লোকেব স্থানে আমার এই আকাজ্ঞা যে বদি আমাব বচিত এই পুস্তেকেব মধ্যে কদাচিতক্রমে কন্টিত দোষ হইয়া থাকে তাহা অমুগ্রহপূর্বক দৃষ্টিমাত্রে নিন্দামদে মন্ত না হয়েন এ কাবণ কোন লোকে দোষ ভিন্ন হইতে প্রবেন না।

The letters, however, are not all on business matters or domestic subjects but some of them are in reality discourses on some religious, historical or legendary topics of interest. For instance, in the letter of one King to another we have, among other things, a discourse on the death of Parīksit with a moral on the impotence of human will, in the letter of a King to his subject, an account of Daksa-yajña

<sup>া</sup> লিপিনালা পুত্ৰ । সাম্বাস বহর রচিত। প্রান্ধরে ছাপা ইল। ১৮০২। Lippimala or the Biacelet of Writing being a Series of Letters on Different Subjects by Ram Ram Boshoo, one of the Pundits in the College of Foit William Serampore 1802 pp 1 255 Also entered in the Catalogue of the Library of the Hon East India Company, p 295, with identical date and place of publication and name of the author. In Buchanan op cit it is described as "an original composition in Bengali prose in the epistolary form" and in Primitae Orientales as "Letters on business in the Bengali Language intended to facilitate transactions with the natives"

a son writing to his father gives a description of Nabadwip and Chaitanya a father instructs his son

An original composition in Bengali prosein the epistolary form

in the Pauranik account of Narad and Parbat or of the descent of Bhugirathi a teacher writing to his

pupil answers some of the latter's questions about Rābaņ and the legendary account of Baidyanāth. This work is really as Buchanan describes it (op cit p 228) an original composition in Bengah proce in the epistolary form'. All these descriptive letters are indeed interesting both in form and matter but it is not possible to give here more than one quotation on account of the length of the letters.—

#### हामा bi+श(+ I'

শপ বিবয়পক বিশেব তোমার ও আক্ষের মধ্যে যহাপীঠ আলাধুৰ লে আতি চন্দ্রত আন জনিলান সেধানকার

Illustrati e e tracte

নেৰাদি অখন পূৰ্বানত হয় না ভোষাত্ৰ বন্ধ অফটা মনোবোগ সে বিবত্ৰ হোতি নাই আ বড়ই

বিহুদ্ধ কৰা আমি ববি ভমি ভাৰতে

 A description of Dalops and his Sacrifice.

ভাত নহ ক্ষতন্ত্ৰ সে বিবন্ধ পেৰিতেহি মনোবোগ কৰিব। মহাদেও বিবাহ কৰেন ধক্ষের চহিতা মহানিক্তি ক্ষবতীৰ্থী ৰক্ষের গৃহে তাহার নাম সতী। হক্ষ মহাবাজি প্রালাপতি এখার মানসমুক্ত কব (শিব) তাহার বামাতা বটে কিছ ইনি ক্ষনাধি কত কোট ব্রহা ইহার আঞাবহ তাহাতে দক্ষ কোন বাজি ভাহার সুর্ব্বসাবনাজনে মহানিজি ভগবতী তাহার কথাহেশে অবশীৰ্ধ হিলেন সেই কথা মহানিজি ভগবতী তাহার কথাহেশে কবিল। মহাদেও বৃহ্দকে স্বত্ত্বভান নাইহাতেই দক্ষ মহাদেবের প্রতি আনন্দিত কবন নহেন বহুং কোপিত ক্রিক্তিত ব্যবহুক্ত কর্মা হাক্য মহাদেবের বিবহীতে করেন।

লিপিবানা, প্ৰথম বাষা; pp 107 116 Bome verses are here omitted at the beginning

এই নত কতক কাল গত হয়। এক সময় ভৃত্ত মহামূনি বজে তিভূবণ निमञ्जन २२८न ममस्य एमवरायन पार्गगन मन्य প্রজাপতি ইত্যাদি मनस्टर সভাস্থ এইকালে মহাদেবেব আগননে সকলেই উত্থান কবিয়া অভ্যৰ্থনা কবিলে প্রজাপতি দক্ত অহধাবে অহধত হইয়া নহাদেবের প্রণাম না করাতে উত্থান কবিলেন না এবং আলাপও না কবিয়া অন্য লোকেব সহিত নিব্যানলায় প্রবর্ত দেই হইতে দক্ষেব দেব বিদেব এবং শিবনিলা সদা পবে দক্ষ মহাকোপে নিজাল্য বাইয়া আপনি বজাবস্থ কবিলেন বিবেচনা এই যে আমাব যজে মহাদেবেব নিনপ্রণ কবিব না ইহাতেই তাহাব অপমান হইবেক এই নতে মজাবন্ত কবিয়া সমস্ত আহ্বান কবিলেন মহাদেব তাহাব থামাতা তাহাব কল্লা মহাশক্তি নতী শিবেব ঘৰণী তথাচ তাহাব প্রতি দৃষ্টি না কবিয়া বোষধুক্তে নমন্তই বিশ্বতি কলা কি যামাতা কাহাকেও নিমন্ত্রণ কবিলেন না। এই নতে দক্ষেব বজ্ঞ হইতেছে ইতিনধ্যে দতী পিতৃগৃহে উৎসব শুনিরা উৎকণ্ঠ চিত্ত হইরা অভ্যন্ত কাতবা সতী নিবেদন কবিতেছেন মহাদেব প্রভো পিতৃগ্যহে মহোৎসব আমাব চিত্ত একান্ত ব্যাকুল হইখাছে পিতৃগ্ৰহে বাইতে ইচ্ছা দেখ প্রাণনাথ চিবকাল গত হইল মধল খত্র কবে তোনাব ঘবে আনিরাছি পরে কথন পিতৃগৃহে যাই নাই এবং মাতাপিতাকে দেখি নাই আমি আমার মাতাব ক্যা মাতা আমাকে বড় ভাল বাদেন আমিও সেই মত আমাৰ ইচ্ছা পিতৃগ্ধে যাইতে তুমি আজা কৰ (some verses omitted here)। একথা কহিষা মহাদেবেব চবণে ধবিয়া সাধনা কবিলে মহাদেব বিমৰ্থ চিত্তে কহিতেছেন শুন তোমাব পিতা পাষ্ণু আমাকে মানে না দেখ সে আমাকে অনাগু কবিবাব নিমিও আমাকে নিমগ্রণ কবিল না বিনা নিমন্ত্রণে তুমি গেলে দখান পাবা না এবং আমাব নিলাতে তোমাব হুথ হইবেক পশ্চাত তাহাব বাবণ হইবেক না। অতএব অনিমন্ত্রিত স্থানে যাওয়া উচিত নহে। সতী কহিতেছেন প্রাণনাথ আপনাব মাতা পিতাব নিমন্ত্রণ অনিমন্ত্রণে কি হয় তাহাবদেব কাছে পুত্র কভাব সন্মান অসন্মান কি আমাব পিতা আমাকে বড়ই ভাগবাদেন আমি বুঝি আমার অসন্মান করিবেণ না সতী যাওনের

উৰবুকা নিতাও শিবাজা না নহিলে সতী ক্ষিত্ৰশানা গোৰন কমিতে করিতে মহাক্রোবেতে ক্রোবিতা ছইরা প্রথমে গতি করিলে মহাদেশ নন্দি মহাকাল সিব (পিব) দেবককে আলা করিলে মহাকাল মহাবান লইয়া পশ্চাত্ৰবিভিতা ক্ষিত্ৰ কতক দুৱে গেল দেবী লে বানালেছেল ৰক্ষালয় উপত্তিত প্ৰস্তী প্ৰেস্তী সতী কল্পাকে ধুট্ডাবেই প্ৰেনানন্দ পুলোকিও ছইৱা প্ৰপদ চিতে ৰাইৱা কঞাৰ মুখচুখন কৰিয়া ক্ৰোড়ে ব্যিরা নতা ব্যাতি বাহিকেন এইনতে তেনার্লক সতীও মাতাকে প্রদাম করিয়া আর আর সমস্ত ভরিণীও অনাভাগণকে সভাব করিয়া বল স্থানে পিতার নিকটে বাইরা প্রাণাম করিলে দক্ষ তাহাকে দেখিবা মাতেই ২৯কোপে কোপিত হইয়া দিবনিশার প্রবর্ত হইল। কৰিল কল্পে তুমি কিনৰ্থে এখানে খানিহাছ তোনার স্বামী ভূতের পতি প্রশান ন্যানে ভাষার **স্বভিতি যাড়্যালা প্রায় সা**ল লইয়া ভাষার খেলা বাদিরার বেশ ভোধার কপাল মাদ অতএব এমত ঘটনা ভোধাকে হুইবাছে আমি ভাৰাকে নিমন্ত্ৰ ক্ষিণাম না। এ দেবল্ডা আমি একাম পুত্র বাদিয়ার নিমন্ত্র দেবনভার হুইতে পাবে না। স্ঠী ক্ৰিণেন পিডা এমত কুৎসা মহাদেবের প্রতি ক্ছ কেন মহাদেব দেব বেব ব্ৰহা বিষ্ণু ইত্যাদি ৰাহাগ পদবুলে প্রণাপত বে হয় নহাবীগ লিপুরার্থকে সংহার করিবেল বে হর কাবকুট পান করিরা হাষ্ট রক্ষা ক্রিলেন তাহাকে কুংসাধাক্য তোমা ব্যতিবেক কেছ কছে না ভূমি এ অফুচিত জিল্লা কেন কর। নশি কৃষ্ণি দক্ষ নিশাল আভিমণ পাইবা বে মুখে শিবনিশা ক্রিলা তালা তোধার নাশ হইরা ছাগল বছন এইবেক এ সক্ষ বাক্যে দক্ষ পুনর্বার বিধনিলা করিতে প্রবর্ষ হইলে সতী ন মহাক্রোবে উবান করিয়া কহিছেছেন পিতা সকলেয় উপদুক্ত ভত্তনিদ্রা-প্রবণে লোক নিশ্বদের শির ছেখন করিবেক নতুবা নিজ প্রাণত্যাগ ক্রিবেক কিমা সে স্থান ত্যাগ করিবেক মানি মাপন প্রাণ ত্যাগ ক্ষিব ভোষার আওলা তম্ম আর স্থাধিব না এই কহিবা ক্ষম আইবা পরিরা বাইরা মধ্যসালে অসিরা নিক্ষণ ব্যানে আপত্যার করিবেন। নভার মধ্যে ঘানাগণে কোনাহল করিলে দক্ষ ভাহার্থিগকে মারিলা

থেদিয়া দিল। নন্দি দানাগণ সন্দায় শইয়া বোদন কবিতে কবিতে শিব্যাকাত নিবেদন কবিবানাত্রেই নহাদেব ক্রোধারিই শিরের লোনাম্বিত ২ইতে ১ইতে মহাজোধাবেশ বালাস্তবানল নন হটনা মন্তব হইতে এক এটা ছেদন কৰিয়া কেলিলেই ভাহাতে মহানীৰ নীৰভদ্ৰ উত্তপন্ন হইলেন বীবের মন্তক গগনে স্পর্শ কবিলেক মহাদর্শবান বীব গুট চশু বক্তবর্ণ সদা ক্রোধবুক্ত জ্ঞাবামাত্রেই ক্বপুটে নিবেদন কবিলেন দেব-দেব আনি কি কর্ম কবিব। শিব কহিলেন দক্ষকে সংহাব কবহ এবং নষ্ট কৰ তাহাৰ ৰজ আজান্তমাৰে বীৰ সাতকোটি দানা সহিত সজ্জ্বান হইরা ফ্রন্যাত্রেই দক্ষাল্য উত্তবিষা নথেতে দক্ষেব চেদ্র কবিয়া ধঞ্জকুণ্ডে সমর্পণ কবিলেন এবং দানাগণে প্রস্রাব কবিনা এঞকুণ্ড পবিপূর্ণ কবিল প্রাক্ষণকে পুথিব বজ্জু দিবা বব বদ্ধ কবিবা নানা মত গুর্নীতি কবিল কাহাব শাফ্র উৎপাটন কবে কাহাব দত্ত ভাঁগিয়া ফেলে এই মত অবস্থা সকলকে কবিয়া ৰজ্ঞ নাশীয়া যাইয়া নিবেদন কবিল চন্দ্ৰচুডেব সনিধানে। পবে মহাদেব সতী অঙ্গ দর্শনার্গে দমেব ভবনে উপস্থিত হইরা সতীব মৃতাপ নন্তকে কবিয়া নৃত্য কবিতে প্রবর্ত্ত এই মতে মহাদেব নূত্যে পৃথিবী ভাবাক্রান্ত হইবা আব সহিকুতা কবিতে পাবিদেন না ব্যস্ত সন্ত হইরা একাব গোচৰ নিবেদন কবিলে ব্রহ্মা কহিলেন বিষ্ণু ব্যতিবেক ইহাব উপাব আমাদিবা কিছু হইতে পাবে না। পবে বিষ্ণুব ওব কবিয়া কহিলেন প্রভো পৃথিবী আব ভাব সহিতে পাবে না এই মতে এক্ষা বিষ্ণু সেই যজ্জভানে যাইয়া বিবিধ প্রকাবে মহাদেবেব স্তব কবিগা বিষ্ণু চক্রেতে সতী অঙ্গ ছেদন কবিতে কবিতে সামুদাযিক ছেদন হইয়া থণ্ড থণ্ড হইয়া পতন হইল। সাকল্যে একার ভার ইইবা একান্ন স্থানে পতন হইল সেই একান্ন স্থান হইল পৃথক পৃথক এক এক পীঠস্থান তাহাতে মহাশক্তিব এক এক ব্লপ এবং এক এক ভৈবৰ অধিষ্ঠান চুডামণি তল্পে তাহাব বিশেষণ গিয়াছে অতএব এমত মহাস্থান তাংবি সেবাচণ্টা প্রকৃত মত কবিবা তাহাব ইত্যাদিব উপব অতিক্রম क्रिवा ना। मावधान हेि।

But the language of the strictly business letters
( ) Business letters
are not so commendable and the contrast is noticeable. We select bere two characteristic specimens even at the risk of being lengthy.

### (১) গবু গোর ভরবে।1

व्यगामा विद्याननदेश ठिल्लाव प्रवानित प्रकानम शहर । एवानकाह বনাচার ন্যান্ত দিবস না পাইবা একান্ত ভাবিত ছিলান এখন প্রীমত-পোপাৰ বোৰের হাতপাত্র (পত্র) মাইরা সমত স্থাচার জাত হইরা নিভিত্ত হইলাম। দিখিলাছ আপনকার কলার বিবাহের সম্বন্ধ শ্রীবত রাজনাহরণ (নারারণ) রাবের প্রতের বহিত হইবাছে ভাহার কুলনব্রনা (নর্ব্যানা) এক শত টাকা দিতে ২ইবেক এ সম্বন্ধ ভাল বটে কিব of a domestic nature টাকার সাংগত্য বৃহত ব্যাপার এইক্রে ভারার মর্থান কি একশত টাকা পণ বিতে হটবেক ভ্রমি নাপনারদের ব্যাহ তিন চারি শত টাকা নানে হইতে পারিবেক না ভাহার স্কল ন্ত্রি এইকণে १९८० পালিবেক না। সামার এখান १९८० একশত টাকার প্রবাস হইতে পারিবেক ইছার অধিক কম্বর্ক ছইবে না বক্রি চারণত অভ কোন স্থানে হইতে বহুতি ক্রিতে পার এমত স্থান আমি দেখিতে পাই মা শতএব প্রভরাং এ সময় এইকবে হাতে পারিল না তবে ৰদি কোন স্থান হুইতে টাকার সাংগতা ক্রিডে পরেণ (পারেন) তবে তাবৰ্ত হৰ্ণৰেন পাতাত আ টাকা মামি পাঠাইরা দিব ভাষার ভাবনা কিছ ক্রিথা না। 🚉 🕏 রাজা দহাপর আছে তিন দিবস হুইল ক্লানা পরগণার বাত্রা কমিরাছেন আমিও ছুই এক ধিনের মধ্যে বাত্রা করিব সে ছানে ৰাইৱা কাৰ্ডে না প্ৰবৈষ্ঠ হইলে টাকার সকল সাংগত্য কি প্ৰাকারে ছর কিছ পভাত ছওনের বাব হুইবেনা যদি এ সম্ভ নানেক হুইনান পরে হর তবে কোন খ্যানেহি হর না প্রীবৃত ক্লক হার মহাপ্রতে লিখিতেছি অ সৰ্ভ এইকৰে না হইয়া পভাত আঞ্চালাদিতে হয়

তিনি এনত কবিরা দিবেন। শ্রীবৃত বানস্তন্দব বস্তজাকে আদ্বীনাদিতে সে স্থানে পাঠাইনেন এক জাদ বার্য্য অবশ্য ববিনা দিতে পাবিব আশাকে সাহেবেব নিতম্ত (নিতাম্ভ) অন্তগ্ৰহ আছে ইহাতে বৰ্থন বাহা সাহেবকে কহি তাহা প্রামাণ্য কবেন কার্য্য অতি বড হটণাছে ইচাতে যদি কিছু কাল এই কার্যা নির্বিষ্থেত গাবিতে পাবি তবে ঈশ্ববেচ্ছা যথেষ্ঠ লোকেব প্রতিপালন ২ইতে পাবিবে। সংপ্রতি এক কার্যা উপস্থিত আছে বভ মন্দ নহে বস্তুজাকে যদি শীঘ্ৰ পাঠাইতে পাবেণ তবে ইহাতেই প্রবর্ত্ত কবিয়া দিতে পাবি নতুবা ঈশ্ববীপূজাব সন্য আনি বাটী আসিব সাঞ্চাত ননস্ত কহিয়া গুনিনা প্রবামর্শপূর্বক বাহা হয় কবিব কিন্তু ইহাৰ নধ্যে যদি কোন আবশ্যক হয় ৩বে আপনি এ পৰ্যান্ত আসিবেন বিশেষ বিদিত হইয়া যাহা কর্ত্তব্য তাহাব চেষ্টাচবিত্র করা থাইবেক কিখা আব কোন কৌশলে কার্য্য চলে তবে তাহাই কবিব। শ্রীযুত বানগোবিন্দ বায় মহাশ্য এথানে আসিনাছিলেন অগ্ন গুই দিবস হইল বাবাণশী প্রস্থান ক্রিয়াছেন তাহাব পত্র এগানে ছিল তাহা পাঠাইতেছি শীঘ্ৰ তাহাৰ বাটীতে পাঠাইયা দিবেন আনি তাহাকে একশত টাকা পথি ব্যায় নিনিত দিয়া শ্রীযুত বানানন্দ বাবুব সহিত পাঠাইবাছি পাটনা পর্যাপ্ত সচ্ছল পৌশিতে পাবিবেন সেথান হইতে বাবু সাতি সঙ্গতি কবিথা দিবেন সেজগু কোন ভাবনাব বিষয় নহে। এ সকল স্মাচাব তাহারদিগেব বাটীতে আপনি যাইখা বিশেষ বিশেষণ কবিয়া কহিবেন বাটীব কেহ ব্যস্ত না হয়েন যাতারাতে মগলাদি লিথিবেন। কিমধিকমিতি।

## (২) বাজা অগু বাজাকে।1

ইদানীন্ত পবিত্রপুব পবগণায় আপনকাব পিতামহ বাপীখননেতে দৈবক্রমে কতগুলি ধনপ্রাপ্ত হইগ়াছিলেন। তথন বাজাধিরাজ তাব প্রতি

<sup>া</sup> লিপিমালা, প্রথম ধারা, pp 32 87 Some verses are omitted at the beginning The extracts contain numerous disjecta membra poetae To this letter there is an equally strong reply which want of space forbids us to quote

ননোবোগ করিবেন না কিন্তু হিরাধন মাত্র হন প্রোণ্ডকে আ্রুথন করিবাছিল। অপর্যাত প্রস্থা হইলে তার্যার ব্যারণ ছইল তথাচালে ব্যাতি বহুনতে মন্ত্রীস্থান্ত্র মনোগরলা করিবা যাবে স্থায়ী ছইল। সেই বনোগলক্ষ্যে তার্থার স্থাক্তমন সেনা সংগ্রাহ করিবা শির্মী প্রগ্ণার হালা নি গ্রান

বিলো। ইইলে ভাৰার ক্ষিকিত অধিকার কার্যাঞ্জন সেনার প্রভারণাবলে অভার ক্রিরা করিবা তিই অবিকার করিবাছিলেন। পিতা ইটতে পুত্র তাগাৰত ও কৰতাপৰ ছিল বটে তথাচ এই ৰাবেৰ অপেক্লিক কথন चरकारत मेरे केहें। एक ना । यादर चरकार हिरशाकीन किरानन याचन छनि শাপনি দৈবপরাক্রাও লোক দান পৌর্যা কীর্তি বীর্যা রাজ্য স*না*রে महा अरुष्ट्र कदर द्वरीतीयात हत्र यहां हिन्द्रकारावि व यशातामास्त শিবনীৰ সৃহত ভাৰাৰ কোন অংশাংশী নাই তথাচু আপনকাৰ ইচ্ছা নিল প্রাক্রনে তারা অধিকার করেণ একি মাত্র্যা ভাল ভাল এও ভাল খাপনকার এমত এমত প্রাক্তন হাইল এ একটা খানখের বিষয় ঘটে কিছ তন কৰি খববান কয় একি ভূমি কোন মানুহ বে ভূমি কটক পাঁচনী কর এ ঋঞ্বের উপর এ তোমার কি প্রকার ইতর বিবেচনা কোথা অনিহাত অনি শাহানে শাহিল ছবিত হও। এ সামার বিবর প্রবৃক্ত অধানকার কোপের বাহল্য হয় না শুগালের গঞ্জনে কেন্দ্রী নাছি ব্ৰোৰে ৰম্ভিড ছইল ক্তবে ভোমান কি গভিক ছইবে কোখাৰ ৰাইবা ভোমার সহার বা কে এবং ছফাবাকে করিতে পারে। এখানকার ক্ৰোধ বৃদ্ধি হয় তবে প্ৰতি ইল্লেগ্ৰা ক্ষিণেও না পাবে বৃক্ষা বৈৰিদ্যা সেনা মোর বছপি কোপে নগৈছেতে সংহার করিবে। বকুট্রে সাববান আপনার পিরুপিতাবহের সুধ্যাতিতে সুখ্যাতাহিত হইয়া কোন জমে হিন্দাত ক্রিতেছ ইবাতে বিহ্ন কেন হয় এখানকার বহিত প্রক্তি-বোপিতা করিয়া তমি কি ছির করিবা। নিন্দাবিশ হাজা ব্লব্ধ হার বালার অসম্যা সেলা এবং দর্শনাল কত বড় ভারার পরাক্রমের সীমা কি বন্দ্ৰন বৈরী হৈলে মৃষ্টে করে ছেল। বাহার লাজ্য পঞ্চবিংলতি ধিবনের প্রবিভার সেনার কোলাংল সিম্বার্থনিকার এমত ন্রারালা

নবপৰী নগবেৰ আশে যাহা পূৰ্ব্বে তাহাৰ কথন ছিল কি কিমত আপন শক্তি আক্রান্ত কবিয়া বল কবিল বৎসবাবধি সে বিবোধ উপস্থিত ছিল। যথন বৈবীদন্য দেনা আপনাবদেব প্রাক্রমে দ্ন্তায়মান হইলে সহজে বলবস্তকে সংহাব কবিয়া এবং তাহাব প্রতিবাদী যে কেহ **আ**সিয়া হইল সমস্তকে নিবাবণ কবিল জয় জ্যকাবধ্বনি দৰ্পত ব্যাপক ক্বাইল। এখন সে নিসাগবাঞ্চা এ অধিকাবভুক্ত ইহাতে তোমাব একি বুদ্ধি শিবা হইয়া কব বাদ সিংহেব সহিত তুমি কাঙ্যালে এ প্রবুক্ত তোমাকে কহি সাবধান সাবধান এমত এমত জঃসাহস আব কথন করিও না। তুমি দীন এখানকাব লেখায় দ্বিদ্র সহায়হীন তোমাব উচিত যদি দ্বীসীশাব চবে তোমাব দেনাব গমন হইবা থাকে ইহাতে সেখানকাব প্রজারদেব যে কিছু শেতি হইরা থাকে তাহাব দিগুণ কবিরা দিয়া তাহাবদিগকে পবিতোধ কবহ যাহাতে তাহাবা এ পর্যান্ত আন্দোলন না কবে। তাহা হইলে বন্ধা পাওয়া ভাব। ধাহা হউক। এমত এমত কবিয়া নবান্ধব-বর্ণে ও পলৈওে একএ হইয়া বৈবিদম্য পেনাব সাধনা কবিলে বুঝি বক্ষা হইতে পাবে বা। এ কবিণ শীণ হীন দীন অকিঞ্চন লোকেব ব্যামোহেতে আমাৰ অন্তব সদা কাতৰ এবং স্তবেৰ বশ অতএৰ ইহাই কৰ কহি শুন যদি তোমাব ভাগ্যোদয় জমে জ্ঞানেব বাহুল্য হয় ৩বেই সে তোমাব বৰ্ণা নতুবা নয। কিন্তু যদি ছুষ্টুনতি ভোমাব প্ৰকৃতিব স্থা হইয়া থাকে ৩বে আব হিতোপদেশেব আবশুক নাই সৈত্য সাজনা বাহিব হইবা সমাচাব লিখিলেই বৈবিদ্দ্যা প্রস্তুত হবেক। ইহাব যাহাতে অভিকৃতি কিন্তু অগুই দেবীশীমা হইতে লোক উঠাইয়া লহ তাহাব দ্বিল গৌণ কবিবা না। তোশাব দশা গৌডাধিপ ও একবাব সাহেব মত হবেক উপায় কি ইতি।

As we have already remarked, the prevalence of Persian words, which is so conspicuous a feature of Pratāpādītya-charītra, has almost disappeared in this publication. There is a marked tendency towards the use of Sanscrit words, but at the same time, in spite of elaborate superscription.

r p 185 But simpler superscription too, eg, প্রাণপ্রতিন এীযুপ্ত অনুক পরম কল্যাণবিধেষ্ (p 191) But these are mere matters of form

like অনুনাগতিক পোৰাসা প্রমন্ততালী নিবেশনক বিশেষ মহাপরের অধুনোয়ত হালকলী নিয়ত আংনায় ওয় নিসুতিপরংশ the style is

Its style more same critised yet not laboured or pedantic like that of gredantic or elaborate this Rum Basu wa proving himself a true disciple of Carey and Rum mohan from the former lie learned to make the best use of the popular language and avoid academic affectation of laboured style and from the latter he got an insight into the strength and power of the language on account of its close relation to the classical

imperfect although there is a great improvement indeed inportations of Pratopaditya-charitra. Considering the growth and progress it is to be regretted that Rim Barn's severance of all connexions with the College put an end to all opportunities of further and better processwiting

Sansent

The syntax and orthography however are still

A better ejectimen of easy prose writing is to be found in Golak mith Sarmit's translation of Hitopadek' noticeable if not for its matter certainly for the form. It was published before the form. It was published before Lipseside but about the same time as I ratapaditya charitra yet it displays great superiority of

(Rushi and 1 Aut without allowed with factor 1 Rainfus Minister 1 August 1

language and manner It is a pietty close but easy translation of the four books of the well-known moral essay unabridged and unexpurgated and the prose is plain and unassuming, except for a little quaintness

Its language

smacking of the tol pundit and a little irregularity of syntax here and there Although itself based upon a Sanscrit original and the author him-

self a learned pundit, well-versed, it may be, in the classical language there is yet no trace of any affectation of pedantry or magnificence The style is free also from the Persian influence so conspicuous in Rām Basu's works some attempt at periodic piose, but the syntax and arrangement, imitating commentorial queeiness, is not all that could be desired, though it is certainly more correct and easy than that of Pratapaditya of Lipimālā With no conscious purpose of developing a prose style but with many unconscious experiments at airangement and adjustment, here is, as in Carey's Dialogues or Itihās-mālā, much simplicity and desire make the language clear and useful There hardly any necessity of quoting too many extracts, for the style, besides being plain and simple, has hardly any marked impressiveness of its own. The following extract

Also in Blumhardt, op cit p 115 116) A copy of Golak-nāth Śarmā's version is in the library of the British Museum bearing the same date and place of publication as we have given above (Blumhardt, op cit p 115) Seton Karr in his article on Bengali Literature in Cal Rev., 1849 (p 499) is rather severe in his criticism on this work, but his views were formed, it seems, on the "condensed and corrected" specimens from this work given in Yates's Introduction, vol ii (1847) ed by Wenger The work under review is entered as Golak nāth's and dated 1801 in the Catalogue of the Library of the Hon East India Company, 1845, p 195 The date 1802, given in the Tenth Memoir, is inaccurate, but it follows the date given on the English title page of the book

will be found illustrative. It is taken from the beginning or introduction to where the Princes are introduced to Visnusarma who begins teaching by narrating the stories.—

নর্পত্রে বিচিত্র কথা এবং নীতিবিখাগারিক সে কি মত তাহার বিশেষ

Ab Extract from the
Introduction.

তিয়া করে তাহা তন। খনলা খনলাব্য

থাব ধর্মাচল কেমন মেনত ধনেতে কেলাকর্পণ করিবা থাকে তালুল।

খনর বিভাবর সকল এবেন মধ্যে অনুভান করিবা থাকে তালুল।

খনর বিভাবর সকল এবেন মধ্যে অনুভান করিবাহাকে তালুল।

খনর বিভাবর খন্যা অনুগ্র খালের অবিকার নাহি ওচারের অবিকার

নাহি এবং গানেতেও কর নাহি খনতএব বিভালম্ব সংল্ঞা।

ভাহার শক্তি কি বিছা বিনয়পাতা বিনয়পাতাপাতা পাত্র বন্ধাতা

বন রর্মা ও প্রণাতা এ সকল বিষয় কহিলে প্রকার বাহন্য করেমাত্রের

নাচেপে কিছু কিছু কহিব। স্নতি নির্মাত মন্ধ্রের বিপ্রাহ সন্ধি।

এই চারিভাগ।

কোন নদীর তীংগতে গাটনী পুত নাধংবৰ এক নগর ঝাছে সে দানে নর্পবানী অপোপেত এখনি নামে রাজা ছিল। সেই রাজা এককালে কোন কাহার অর্থ এই পার সকলের লোচন কাহার অর্থ এই পার সকলের লোচন কাহার বাবিক ধন সংপত্তি প্রভুষ অবিবেক ইবার বহি এক থাকে ওবেই জনর্প স্থার ধানিলে না আমি কি হয়। ইয়া তানিরা সেই রাজা অতার উহিয় বনে চিল্লা করিতে গালিলেন বে আনার স্থেনরা অতি সুর্থ অভ্তরত ইবারদের কি হবে। এমন প্রকাশানা বাকা কুলা। বে প্রভাবদান ও অবাধিক সে প্রকাশ কার্য বেমন কানার চক্নীড়া মাত্র। যদি পুত্র হইয়া ধরিও কিয়ানা হইত সে কেবল একবার হুম্ব কিছে সুধ্ পুত্র অতিপবে। বিভাব্তন এবং বারু বদি এক পুত্র হুম্ব কিছে সুধ্ পুত্র অতিপবে। বিভাব্তন এবং বারু বদি এক পুত্র হুম্ব ক্রিছ সুধ্ পুত্র অতিপবে। বিভাব্তন এবং বারু বদি এক পুত্র হুম্ব

The story is to well known to require an analysis of its contents here.

তিনি পুক্ষেব মধ্যে দিংহ। বেনন ৮ । বাদুশ বজনীতে ৮ দ্র উদয় না হইলে কোটি কোটি নঞ্জে অক্ষকাৰ নাশ কৰিতে পাৰে না ভাদৃশ এক শত মূর্থ পুত্র জানিবা এক স্তপুত্রেব তুশ্য নচে। অপব যে ব্যক্তি অনেক দান ও পুণা কবে তাহাব পুত্র ধনবান ও ধীবান ও ধার্ম্মিক হয়। ঋণ কর্ত্তা পিতা শক্র নাতা অপ্রেরবাদিনী ভাগ্যা রূপনতী পুত্র অপডিত। উচ্চ বা নীচ ২উক গুণবান সকল স্থানে পূজনীয়। বেনন বংশেব গুণ্ঞুক ধন্তক নিগুৰ্ণ কি কার্য্যেব। যে পুত্র না পাঠ কবে সে পুত্র পণ্ডিতেব নধ্যে কীদুশ বেনন পদেব মধ্যে গক পভিলে হয়। গর্ভন্ত মন্তব্যেব এই পাচ যোগ হইয়া থাকে আয়ু কর্ম বিও বিহা নিধন। বি এ যদি কেছ ভাবে যে যা হ্বাব তা হবে সে অতি অপশেব কথা তাহাব প্রমাণ যেনত বণেব গতি কেবল চক্রেতে হয় না এবং পুক্ষ কাবেব চেষ্টা ব্যতিবেক হয় না। অপৰ কুণ্ডকাৰ আপন ইচ্ছানত তাহাৰ কাৰ্য্য কৰিতে পাৰে তাদৃশ আত্মহত কর্ম মহুণ্যে কবিতে পাবে। অপবঞ্চ কাকেব তাল ফেলাব ভাষ **অগ্রে নিবি দেখিয়া পায তাহা ঈশ্বব দত বটে** কিন্তু পুক্ষার্থ অপেকা কবে বদি কোন কাহাব অত্যে পাকা তাল কাকে কেলায় সে দেখিয়া যদি না থায় তবে কখন পাবে না অতএব যে পিতা মাতা তাহাব পুত্রকে না পড়ায় সে শক্ত এবং সে পুত্র সভাব নধ্যে কেমন দীপ্তি হয় বেমন হংসেব মধ্যে বক। মুকেব শোভা বাবৎ কিছু না বলে তাবৎ মাত্র। মোটা দ্রব্য চিকণ হয় ও চিকণ মোটা হয় বেমন চন্দ্র ক্রম্ব পক্ষে ও শুক্ল পর্যে। সে বাজা এই সকল চিন্তা কবিয়া পণ্ডিতেব সভা কবিলেন। ভো ভো পণ্ডিতেবা অবধান কব। আমাব পুত্রেবা নিতা উল্টা পথগামী অতএব তাহাবদেব নীতিশাস্ত্রে পুনর্ধাব জন্ম দেহ। বথা কাঞ্চন সংসর্গতে কাচ যে তিনি বহুমূল্য প্রস্তবেব দীপ্তি ধারণ কবেন তথা সহিধানেতে মূর্য যে তিনি প্রবীণতা পান। তাহাব হুল এই যদি হীনেব সহিত থাকে তবে হীন মতি হয় সমানেব সংসর্গে সমতা হয় বিশিষ্টেব সহিত থাকিলে বিশিষ্টতা পায়। অতঃপবে বিষ্ণুশর্মা নামেতে ব্রাহ্মণ মহাপণ্ডিত সকল নীতিশাস্ত্ৰজ্ঞ বুহম্পতিব গ্ৰায় কহিলেন হে মহাবাজা এই সকল বাজপুঞ্জেরদিগকে আমি নীতিশাজেতে জ্ঞান কবিয়া দিব। বিনা

য্যাপারে কাহার কিছু হর না অতএব আমি মহারাভার প্তেরগিকে হর নাদের মধ্যে বেরপে হর শেইরপে নীতিশাতেওে জ্ঞান জ্ঞাইরা হিব নহারাভা তাহারনিগের কারণ কোন চিন্তা করিবেন না। মহারাভা বিনর পূর্বক প্রবর্ধার কহিতেছেন। যার কীট প্লের পহিত থাকে তবে নহতে পরিবে আরেছন করে। আর সাধু যাক্তি বছলি পাধর হাপন করে তবে সে পাধর বেবছ পার। বেনত পরিবের উপরের ক্রবা নিকটে বীতি হর ক্ষেমন গতেব নিকটে হীনবর্ধার বীতি হর। অতএব বিষ্ণুপর্যাকে বহুমধ্যারা করিবা রাজা আপন প্তেরগার্গকে ক্রবা সমর্পক করিবেন।

It would be convenient to notice here briefly Gilchrist s translation of Æsop's and other fables from the English

Dr John B Gil christ s Oriental Fubulist 1903. language Although done under the direction and supervision of Dr Gilchrist 2 it must be borne in mind that the version occurs in a book of

polygiot translation (six versions) of Reop's and other fables into the various dislects of India 5 done by various hands. For the Bengali version in responsible one Transleharan Mitra who was employed especially for Bungla, Persian and Hindoosthanee. He is called a

### Resident pp 3-8

Dr J ha Burthwick Gilchri t LL, D F R S E was Professor of Hisdusthant in the Fort William College He was well versed in numerous dislects of I dis a d wrotes number of works on Hisdusthani

This translation will be found in a publication of the Fort William O liege entitled the Orient I Fabel t (1903) by John Gilchrist I lie contains Polygiot Translations f Erops and other ancient f bler from the England La guage ato Hindoorth see Perm Araba Brijshakha Bongla d S Litt in the Rom a Ghoracter by a row h da a der th direct on and experimentations of John O'lch ut for its use of the College of Port William Calcutta. Pri tod t the flurkaru office 1803. (See Rocchuck op act App II p. 27 Buchman op, cit p. 221)

pays him a high tribute when he says "it behaves me now more particularly to specify that to

Tarmichan Mitras
Share in the version

Talnecchinin Mitr's (su) patient
Irboni and considerable probecency

in the English tongue, am I greatly indebted for the accuracy and dispatch with which the collection has been at last completed. The public may feel and duly appreciate the benefit of his issidiaty and talents, evident in the Bungla version". Tarinīcharan Mitia was "Head Moonshee" in the Hindustham Department appointed in May, 1801. Tarinīcharan thus seems also to have been proficient in Persian and Hindustham We select here a short piece as a specimen

# यष्टं कथा। (वैविभिनानी ७ माध्यात्वर।

এক থেকশিনালী দেখিলেক এক দাঙকাক ভাল এক টুবৰা

An illustrative fable পোনীবেৰ আপন মুখে লইনা গাছেৰ ভালেৰ

quoted উপৰ ৰদিনা বহিনাছে, তংকণাং গেঁকশিনালী

বিবেচনা কৰিতে লাগিল যে এনন স্থ্যাত্ব গ্রাস কেনন কৰিয়া হাত

কবিতে পাবিব। কহিলেক, হে প্রিন কাক, আজি নবালে তোনাবে

দেখিবা আনি বঙ সত্তই হইনাছি, তোনাৰ স্থলৰ মুর্ত্তি আৰ উজ্জল পালক

আনাৰ চন্দেৰ জ্যোতি, যদি নএতাক্রনে তুমি জন্মগ্রহ কৰিনা আমাবে

একটি গান শুনাইতে তবে নিঃনন্দেই জানিতান যে তোনাৰ শ্বৰ তোনাৰ

p xxiv xxv Di Gilchrist in the Pieface (p xxv) to this work, expresses his intention of publishing the Bengali version, which seems to be the best, in a separate form, not in Roman but in Bengali character I do not know whether it was ever published Long mentions Dr Gilchrist's translation of the Æsop's fable published in 1803. I have not been able to trace this separate publication if it ever existed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Roebuck, op cit App III p 48

মাৰ আৰু তাৰেৰ সমান বটে। আনজোৱত লাক এই এন্নয় কথাতে কুলিয়া লাগাকে আখন খবেৰ পৰিখাটা লেখাইবাৰ হাত মূৰ খুলিকক তৰন পোনাৰ নীতে পড়িব লাহা তথনি শেকলিয়াকী উঠাইবা বাইবা হয়েত প্ৰস্থান কৰিকেক আৰু শাক্তলালকে অব্যৱহাৰ আখন মিশাগদিনাৰ বেল শিশাৰে বা।

ট্যাব হল এট হেশনে ভাবেশিশ কথা প্রবেশ করে বেশানে ফানশাচব শোশ শাষ।

It is no little credit to the writer of this possage as the reader will observe that the prose for a translated piece shows areat improvement indeed upon what had been published litherto and it is with great difficulty that we resist the temptation of giving more extracts of this simple homely style. This work incensibles it uch Caros a lithus mala in its perspicuity and elegance although the latter book was publicled almost a decade after the lit is by always aiming to be plain accurate and natural that

the language of this work succeeds in attaining such excellence of diction among, contemporary records in spite of its very close adherence to its lengths original and occasional imitation as in the passage quoted of leighth and Person construction. It is to be regretted however that the writer of these pieces never tried his hand at original prosessiting which if he had touched he might have adorted in a way better than many of his contemporation.

The One of I Fab Lot (1863) cell by (11) hrit p. 25. In the transitiention I be corrected the pelling otherwise no alteration is m d , for the transit ration seem to have been made according to one ond rath other has according to spelling The transitiented ration in Roman I tiers is given in Appendix III at the end of this volume where a note size will be found on this system I transitiention, for which I am i delated to Professor Suntil Kumar Chatterili

Munshī's 1 Totā Itihās and Rājib Chandicharan Lochan Mukhopādhyāy's Rājā Ki sna-Chandicharan chandra Rayer Charitra, both pub-Munshī lished in the same year, exhibit however noticeable contrast of style and language Itihās 2 is by fai the better work Tota Itchas both in form and subject, although 1805 it is a mere translation from some Peisian original and its language shows admixture of It consists of thirty-four "tales of a pariot," as its name implies, and is said to have been translated from a Persian original "Tootanamah" 8 Its original Similar collections of tales there are

- <sup>1</sup> Called Chunder Churun Moonshee by Buchanan (op cit p 229) which is evidently a mistake
- <sup>2</sup> There are copies of the first edition in the Library of the Board of Examiners and Presidency College Library The title page says তোতা ইতিহাস। বাঙ্গালা ভাষাতে। শ্রীচণ্ডীচরণ মুন্শীতে বচিত। শ্রীবামপুরে ছাপা হইল। ১৮০৫। Roebuck (op cit App II p 29) and Buchanan (op cit p 228) also give this date of publication. The copy in the Schitya Parișat Library (and also one in the British Museum Library), which seem to be replints of 1825, bear a somewhat different title page খ্রী। তোতা ইতিহাস। বাঙ্গালা ভাষাতে ॥ খ্রীচণ্ডীচন্দ্ মুন্দীতে রচিত।। লণ্ডন রাজধানীতে চাপা হইল।। ১৮২৫।। The fount of this latter reprint is very neat Misled probably by the date of this edition, Dinesh Chandra Sen (History, p 890) puts the date apparently of the first edition at 1826. The copy of an edition in the British Museum Library bears 1806 as the date of publication (Blumhardt, Catalogue, p 31) There is also mention of a 12mo Ed printed in London 1811 in the Catalogue of the Library of East India College, and an 8vo Ed London 1811 is entered in Catalogue of the Library of the Hon East India Company, p 196 There is a curious diglot edition (English Bengali) of this work in the Sähitya Parisat Library the Bengali version appears on the right and English on the left side on the same page. The date cannot be ascertained for the title page is lost, but judging from the typography, it seems to have been printed in London
  - Buchanan, op cit p 228 Chandicharan is also said to have

al o in Sanserit the most well known among which is the

We give here a de cription of the work under review

and it is interesting to compare it

with the Sanserit version. A wife
who chin band is triv lling abroad.

and who a unclined to run after other men turns to her hu band's elever talking parrot for advice. The bird while seeming to approve of her wicked plans, warns her of the ri ke she tune and maker her promise not to go and meet any paramour unless she can extricate herself from difficulties as se-and-so did Requested to tell the story he does no but in the meantime the story s spun out to such a length that when it i concluded morning dawns and her plans are po tooned till next night. Thus the bird succeeds in keeping his mistress in the path of rectitude not by pointed injunctions but by a device similar to that which Shehraza le in the Arabian Nights employe to hinder the Sultan from sacrificing a fresh victim on every succeeding day. Several days pa s in this way till the he hand returns to find the honour of his home inviolate. This is the frame-work which contain the thirty four stories some of which are very amusing indeed although many of them are somewhat coarse. It is written in simple narrative prose emmently suited to the purpose of the book and although eried down for its slight mevitable admixture of Persian especially at the beginning the language is in no way inferior to that of Ilitopules or Oriental Fibrilist and certainly marks great advance in simplicity and natural ness upon Pratapaditya-charitri or I ipiwala Ita literary

translated the Dk gabedgitd from Sanscrit into Be gali | this work, if published at all 1 have not been able to trace

Macdonell Hist f Box Lt p 377

pretensions are few indeed, but the writer is a very good story-teller and has succeeded in making his book interesting, both in form and matter "1"

The following quotation of a shorter story will serve both as specimen of its tales and of its language 2

একজন চৌকিদাব বাজা তেববস্তানেব সহিত হিতকর্ণ্য কবিবাছিল তাহাব প্রসঙ্গ এই।

যথন দিবাগত বাত্রি উপস্থিত হইল তথন থোজেস্তা<sup>3</sup> বহুমূল্য শ্যা হইতে গাত্রোত্থান কবিবা নানাবিধ খাগুসামগ্রী আব বলাদি আনাইরা ভোজন কবিবা আপন চন্দ্রতুল্য বদন সাজাইষা স্বর্ণনপ্যেব স্থত্রেব বন্ধ পবিধান কবিবা শুকপক্ষিব সনীপে আসিষা বাজপুত্রেব<sup>4</sup> নিকট যাইতে

- This book seems to have become very popular, Dr Yates, in his Selection, gives 18 stories from it alone Dr Yates, however, stretches his point too far when he says that the language of this work is deserving of attention because it is "a very fair specimen of the colloquial language and its almost unbounded negligence" (Rev. W Yates, Introduction to the Bengali Language in two volumes 1847 ed by J Wenger, vol in containing Selections from Bengali Literature, p 1) Haughton's Selections (1822) contain 10 stories from it The book was also translated into Hindusthani See Roebuck App II p 24, "Tota Kuhanee a Translation Hindoosthanee Tongue, of the popular Persian Tales, entitled Tootee Namu, by Sueyid Huedur Buksh Hueduree, under the superintendence Gilchrist, for the use of the students in the College of Fort William, Calcutta printed at the Hindoosthanee Press in one vol 4to 1804 "
- " This story also occurs in another form in the Hitopades It is also quoted in Haughton's Selections, p. 12.18, trans. p. 92.93
- <sup>3</sup> This is the wife whose husband Maymin has gone abroad, this introductory passage as well as the conclusions forms the link which connects a particular story with what precedes and what follows it, and is thus a part of the framework into which stories of miscellaneous character are thrown in
- ' This is the paramour with whom an appointment was made to meet at midnight

দিশা চাহিলে। ত্বক বছিলেক যে তুনি মনে পিছু উছিলা হটও না নালোদিত থাক সামি ডোমার কথে চেউত আছি নোনাকে বাল স্থের নিকট প্রছাট্য কিয় হাল্পাল্য যে প্রতি আর ভাগবালা ডোমানে লাছে পারা তুনি কদের রাশিবা মেন চৌকিদার আগন ননেতে তেবরপান যালাকে তবলা জান্য করিলা যন পাইবালিক তুনি তক্রপ হালপুটকে ভাগনা করিও পরে পানাকে মবল পাইবা। পোলেরা ইয়া ভানিলা ভ্রককে প্রশা করিবেশ যে তেবরপান যালার উপাধান কিবল তালা কর।—

ত্ত্ব উত্তর ক্ষিত্র যে পুরোর ১৮লেল ও মুম্বীরা এমত ক্রিলাছেন বে রালা দেবরতান এক দিবত দাপন সচা থর্গের ভার সাভাইরা উত্তম মাল বালন এবং নানাপ্রভাব মণনাংস লম্ভাল্য বলান্ধ্য রাখিলা ঠ ৰে যে বামপুত ও ন্টাৰ্ক ও পতিত ও শিকাগুলুব্দিপ্ৰে সেই স্থানে উপস্থিত কৰিছা বেই সৰ উত্তন প্ৰবা আছার্লিগ্ৰেক ভোলন ক্যাইডেছিলেন ইমিংধা ললা সেই ভালে একলন বিদেশী উপস্থিত ইটক। স্বর্ধর ছাহ্রতাম প্রবানেরা ভারাকে থিঞানিবেদ বে তুমি কে কোথা হতৈে আনিবাচ কি কাৰ্য্য হর। সেই ব্যক্তি উত্তর করিবেক বে আনি ভ্রোরার নারিতে আনর ব্যার ধরিতে পাবি ইচা বা থেক মাব আর ত্রপ পিলকর ভাত মাছি মার তীর এমত মারিতে পারি যে মামার তীর করিম ক্রওরেতে ছিত্র করিয়া নির্গত হর এবং খলেম্বর নানা একলন বনবান আছেন আমি কিছু দিবৰ তাঁহার নিকটে চাকর ছিবাম কিছু গড়েত্বর আমার কিছ খণ বিশেচনা করিয়া ব্যাহেন না অত্তাৰ আমি ঠানার চাকরি ত্যাগ করিয়া মহারাজ তেবরতানের নাম শুনিয়া তাহার নিকট চাক্রি ক্ষিতে আসিহাছি। মহারালা তেবরতান এই কলা ভূমি। রাজ মরণারের শোকেরদিগকে আলা দিখেন বে এই শাভিতে চৌকিমারি কর্মে নিযুক্ত কয়। পরে কর্মবর্কারা রাজাভাগুলারে ভালাকে চৌকিলারি চাকুরিতে নিযুক্ত ক্রিশেন। সেই মন প্রত্যক্ত রাভিতে এক প্রদ ণাড়াইৰা রাজার অট্টালিকারদিনে দুটি করিয়া থাকে এক দিবস

অর্মবাত্রের পরে বাজা উপর ফারর ছাতে নেডাইয়া সরল দিগে দুষ্টি ক্ৰিতে ২ নাচেতে দেখিলেন যে এক জন এব পাদে দাভাইনা বহিবাছে। বাজা তাহাকে দেখিনা ছিজাসিলেন ভূমি কে বট অৰ্দ্ধ নিশাতে কি কাৰণ এক পদে দাডাইয়া আছু। চৌবিদাৰ কহিলেক যে বাজ-দর্শনার্থে আকান্তাত ছিলান অদ্য আমান ভাগ্যেব সহকাবেতে দর্শন কবিষা বঙ আহ্বাদিত আমোদিত হইলাম। বাছা আৰ চৌবিদাৰেতে এই কণোপকথন হইতেছিল ইতিনবো মাঠেন দিগু হুইতে এক শক বাজাৰ কৰ্ণকুহবে পঁছছিল সে শব্দ এই একজন কহিতেছে যে আমি বাইতেছি কে এনত মন্তব্য আছে যে আনাকে কিবাইবে। ইহা গুনিরা वाजा विश्वि २२वा कोकिमावरक किश्तिन रा एटर कोकिमाव ध शास्त्र বুতান্ত তুনি কিছু জানহ। চৌকিদাব উত্তব কবিল ও নহাবাজ কএক দিবস বাতিযোগে এইরূপ শন্দ শুনিতেছি কিন্ত চৌকিদাবি কর্মেতে থাকিতে কাৰণ গমন কৰিয়া জ্ঞাত ২ইতে পাৰি না যে এ শব্দ কাহাৰ যদি আপনি আছা দেন ৩বে অতি শীদ্র গদন কবিয়া শব্দেব নিশ্চন জানিবা তোনাব দাসেবদেব সাক্ষাতে বিস্তাবিত নিবেদন কবিতে পাবি। वाजा किश्तन भीष यदिया नयान जानर। कोकिनाव वाजाळा পारेग्रा তৎক্ষণাৎ গমন কবিলেন। পৰে বাজা ক্লম্বর্ণ এক কমলেতে শবীব हाकिया होकिमादव अम्हा९ आला। होकिमाव त्म द्यास अँहि इग्नी দেখিল যে পথমধ্যে এক স্থন্দবী দাঁডাইখা কহিতেছে যে আমি যাইতেছি আমাকে কে বিবাইবেক। ইহা শুনিয়া চৌকিদাব প্রশ্ন কবিলেক যে ও দ্বীলোক তুমি এমত কথা কেন কহিতেছ। সে দ্বীলোক উত্তব কবিলেক যে আমি বাজা তেববস্তানেব প্ৰনাৰুব প্ৰতিমূৰ্তী বাজাব আযুঃ শেষ ২ইগ্লাছে অতএব আমি বাইতেছি। চৌকিদাব ইহা শুনিয়া কহিলেন তুমি বাজাব প্রমাযু এখন তুমি কিব্রপে বাহুডিবা থাকিবে। প্রতিবিধ কহিলেন শুন হে চৌকিদাব বদ্যপি তুমি আপন পুলকে বাজাব প্ৰমাৰ্থ বদলেতে আমাৰ সমূপে বলিদান দেও তবে আমি অবশ্য ফিবিয়া থাকিব বাজাও কতক কাল বাঁচিয়া থাকিবেল কদাচ भीघ गवित्वन ना। क्रिकिनाव देश छनिया ठुष्टे इहेग्रा উउव कवितनक

বৰি আনাৰ আৰু আন আনাৰ পুলের আৰু এই ছই বিৰেও বাদা য়ফাপান তবে ৬৭৫। বিব হিল্ল তুমি নাঠেক বিলম্কর আমি বাটী বাইল আপন সভানকে আনিশ নোমার সামাতে ম্বিনান করি। ইচা ৰনিয়া চৌহিৰাৰ আগন গুলেতে ঘাইয়া এই সমত্ত কথা বড় পুত্ৰকে অবগত করিলেক। এবন ধর সেই পুত্র স্বৃত্তিবেচক জানী ইঙাই শুনিরা উত্তর কহিল যে রাজা েবব এন অতি বিচারত ও প্রেমাপালক সৈন ছ ব্যুষ্পত্তী বৃদ্ধি আমাকে বৃদ্ধিন কবিংল তিনি ছকা পান এ বড় উত্তম প্রকরণ কেন না আমার মরণেতে কৃতি নাচি এ রামার মক দ্বলৈ আৰু কোন দূৰ্ঘ্যন থাকি বালা ২টগেন আধাৰ হুটভাতে সহস্ৰ ২ লোক নাল হবৈছা দেল খঞ্বাণ হইবেক রামা তেব্যুৱান বাচিলে मध्य र व्यक्षांकादक्रवितात यद ध्वार स्टान्त वावान स्टेश्वर खपामि শিমাওকর স্থানে তনিগৃছি তিনি এক দিবস চৌধাটীর পভুগারদিগতে ক্ষিতেছিলেন বে ইবিবন্ধিরাল্ড লোকেরা বলি বিচারক রালার लान बलार्स वक यन लायात्न महे करत हैशा भाग रव ना। भेषत করেন বে এমত রাজা না মরেন মার অবিচারক রাজা রাজা না করে মতএব শীম আনাকে অনিধার নিকট সইরা বাও এবং ছেবন কর তারপর চৌকিবার প্রতিমার সামাতে প্রকে আনিয়া করণাবালি কলন ব্রিলা তীক্র ছোলা মাপন করে বইলাইটেবুও হইলাছেলন ক্রিঙে Gein करेंग। व्यटिविष देश तिनिया भीय क्रोकिशांवत इस द्विता নিবেশ করিবেন বে জুনি তোনাব পুক্রের গলা ছেদন করিও লাইখর নৰ্ধকণ্ঠা তোমার বোগ্যতা আর উত্তনতাতে বড় ভূট হইবা অনুগ্রছ করিলা আখাতে দিরিতা ব্রিপত বংসর পাকিতে আলা দিলেন। চৌকিনার এই নস্প স্মাচার ত্রিলা বড় আংশাধিত হইল। চৌকিগালে আর অতিনাতে এবং চৌৰিলাবের পুৰেতে বে কলোপৰখন হইরাছিল রাল্লা সেই সমত্ত ভনিরা এবং দেখিয়া চৌকিগারের আসমনের পুর্ব্বে গুছে খানিরা মট্টানিকার উপর পূর্ববিং স্রমণ করিতে নাগিলেন।

চৌকিধাৰ আহিৰতগতে ঘাৰাৰ সমূৰে শাসিলা উপহিত হইবা প্ৰণাম কৰিবা মদল প্ৰাৰ্থনা কৰিব যে শহাৰাধাৰ আযু ও ঐৰ্ডা এৰ বাহা আৰ নৈন্যেৰ বৃদ্ধি ২উক। তাৰপৰ বাজা জিঞাসিলেন ওহে চৌকিদাৰ কহ শব্দেব বৃত্তান্ত বি জানিলা। চৌকিদাব কহিলেক নহাবাজ শ্রবণ কবিতে আজা হউক। এক স্ত্রী সর্ব্বাধন্ত্রপুৰী আপন স্বানিব সহিত কলহ কবিনা বাটী হইতে বাহিবে আদিনা পথনগো বদিনা ননোগুঃখেতে শব্দ কবিতেছিল যে গামি যাইতেছি এনত কোন ব্যক্তি ভাছে ভানকে কিবাইবে। আনি নেই স্ত্রীব সাক্ষাতে পঁছছিরা বোনল বাক্য খাবাব ত্ৰিয়া তাহাৰদেৰ স্ত্ৰীপুক্ষে মিলন কৰিয়া দিলাম এখন নেই স্ত্ৰী স্বীপ্তত হইলেন যে আনি স্বানিব বাটী হইতে আব বৰ্ছশত বংসর আব কোথাও যাইব না। বাজা চৌকিদাবেব উত্তন ধাবাতে আব জ্ঞানেতে তুই হইবা किश्तिन अरह को किभाव य काल जूनि आंगाव वांगिव वीरिव श्रेना সেই সন্য আমিও তোমাব পশ্চাৎ গন্ন কবিয়া দূব হইতে তোমাব আব প্রতিনাব এবং তোমাব তনরেব উত্তব প্রত্যুত্তব শুনিবাছি আব তোনবা যাহা কৰিয়াছিলা তাহাও দেখিযাছি ঈধৰ তোমাৰ ভাল কৰিবেন এবং আমিও ভগবানেৰ প্ৰাৰ্থনাৰ দ্বাবা তোনাৰ দৈন্য দূব কৰিব ও ধনবান কবিব। তাবপৰ বাজা বাজিসিংহাসনে উপবিষ্ট হইলে দেশেব প্রধানেবা ও সকল বিচাবকেবাও হাজীব হইলেন। এই সম্য বাজা তাঁহাবদেব সাক্ষাতে চৌকিদাবকে প্রধান মন্ত্রী ও ধনভাণ্ডাবিব কর্মে নিবুক্ত কবিয়া চাবি ও কুলুপ ধকল তাহাকে সমর্পণ কবিলে।।

তোতা তেববন্তান বাজাব এই কথা সাঙ্গ কবিলেই বাত্রি প্রভাত ও প্র্যা উদ্যা হইল এ কবিণ সেই দিবদ খোজেন্তাব যাওন হইল না। থোজেন্তা সমন্ত বজনী এই ইতিহাস শ্রবণে জাগ্রত ছিলেন অতএব মথমলেব বিছানাতে শবন কবিলেন। 1

As in the case of most of the Bengali writers of this period, nothing practically is known about the life of the author of  $R\bar{a}j\bar{a}$  Krsnachandra  $R\bar{a}j\bar{b}$  lochan Mukho  $R\bar{a}yer$  Charitra<sup>2</sup> except that in the description of the book given by

¹ ভোতা ইতিহাস, pp. 21-29

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The title page says, History of Raja Krishnu Chundru Roy

Buchanan <sup>1</sup> Rājib-lochan is said to have been 'descended from the family of the Raja'. The book is supposed to be an authentic account of the likiju dead not many years before this book was published and his correspondence with the English in the early period of their intercourse with Bengal but it seems that the memorial more of a lissue of fables and traditionary tales and much of the narrative, especially at the beginning, is more fiction such as tradition or the fancy of the writer might have suggested. We do not go so far as to suggest that these

tales were invented as Dr lates remarks in order to

নহাবাল ক্লচন্দ্ৰ বাইন্য চরিকা। জনুত বাধীবলোচন দুবোগাভাবের বচিতা। प्रकृतक महाबाब बढ़ीह मात्र बाहांड व्यक्तियात अवदीन महाता भूर्यव छाछ ৰত কৰিলা প্ৰচাৰ কণ্ডল চৰিত্ৰ পৰে কৰিব বিন্তাৰ ৷ প্ৰীৰাবপুৰ ছাপা TEG | 35 c | pp 1 120 Long says that it was reprinted in London 1830 but the second reprint at Srirampur boars the date of 1857 (Sabitya Pariest Library) There is a copy in the Library of the Board of Examiners which is reprinted at Srirampur bearing the date of 1834; and two copies in the British Museum Library (Blumbardt, Caf loose p. 69) printed in London in 1811. Also mentioned in the Cat love. I the Library of the Fast India College (1843) and Catalogue of the Library of the Honble East India Compa y (1845) p. 100. There are copies of the first edition of this work in the Library of the Board of Examiners and also in the Bengal A i rio Society Library In the paper on Bengali Literature (Cal. Sev zill. 1850) Long gives this work the absurd date of 1801 and following him, Ram gati Nyayaratna repeats the error See, however Roebnek op cit App. II p 20 so opeit p. 228. Resides this work of Rajib-lochan a contains a reference at p. 9 to Ram Ram Basu a Pratapaditya-charatre and must therefore have been published after 1801

Op cit p 228 The full description is this an original work in the Bengall language containing the correspondence between the Raja and the English in the early period of their intercourse with Bengal by Rajeeblochan Moonshee descended from the family of the Baja

Inire t Beng Lang vol. il p 124. Seton Karra severity on his work (Cel Bev 1849 p. 501) following Yates, seems to be unwarranted. gain the favour of the English", but we must admit that it shows more leaning towards gossip than Pratāpādītya-

the language charitra does In point of language, however, the last-named work compares very unfavourably with the work under review Mahāmahopādhyāy Harapiasād groups this work with Pratāpāditya in the class of "unreadables" for its language, but the plain story-telling style, occasionally Sanscritised and wholly free from Persian, eminently besits the gossipy tendency of the work. The story is enlivened

by frequent introduction of descripand manner tions, dialogues, letters and anecdotes, and the narrative towards the end, describing the Rājā's acquaintance with the Nawab, his joining the conspiracy, his negociations with the English, and the ultimate triumph of his party with the defeat of the Nawab is told in a connected and interesting manner, with a large infusion, however, of fiction which may not be strictly acceptable to the historian But it is this mingling of fact and gossip that makes the work so interesting to the general reader. The work begins with a preliminary account, legendary and historical, of pedigrees and ancestries, then narrates the story of Raja Krsnachandra's buth, his mairiage, his religious work, a description of his residence called Siba-nibāsa, his amusements, his acquaintances with Nawab Silal, his joining a conspiracy started by MīrJā'fai and others against the Nawab, his delegation to the English at

Calcutta by the conspirators, his negociations there with the Bada-sāheb of the Factory, flight of Rāj-

ballabh and his son, correspondence between the Nawāb and the English, the Nawāb's descent upon Calcutta, agreement with Mīi Jā'far, the meeting of the English and

the Mohammedan forces at Plassov flight of Sirilj and his assistantion by Miran and then the story cuds with a short account of the posterity of the Raja Wo give here an extract from the passage describing the Raja's joining the conspiracy which will serve as a specimen of both its language and manner.

भाषा (२१७४) यांगाव चामित्रा महाताच गरहन ७ मामा वांगावांवा ও হালা গাৰ্থনত এবং লগ্যুস্ট ও মীগলাঞ্গালি বা ইহাগৰিগের নিক্ট মছয় প্রেরিত ক্রিলেন মামি সাক্ষাৎ ক্রিতে ষাইব সক্লেই অনুষ্ঠি করিলেন রাজে আসিতে কহিও ফ্রেম্থ রালা ধকলের নিকট ব্যাবে গদন করিবা আঞ্চনিবেধন করিবেন। পরে জগধ্যেট করিবেন এ দেশের অভাগ্ত অপ্রতুল ছুইল দেশাধিকায়ী অভিহর্ত কাহাক বাকা ক্ষুৰ লাছিল ২ খৌৱাখা অধিক হুইতেছে অত্তৰ্মৰ স্কুল একবাৰাতা ছইয়া বিবেচনা না করিলে কাহাক নিছতি নাই এই কৰার পর **রা**লা ুক্তুর রার কৃছিলেন আপনারা রাধধারের ক্তী আদরা আপনকার बिटनंत मठावन्यो त्यम २ कहिरदन ८गहेवन काठा कत्रिय देशहे छनित्रो জনতানট কহিলেন আলা বাসার বাউন আমি মহারালা মহেত্রের গহিত প্রামর্শ করিরা নিত্ত এফ হানে ব্যিরা স্থাপনকাকে ভাকাইৰ সে দিবস বিভার ভাইরা রাজা থানার আনিবেন। পরে এক দিবন অগ্যানটের বাটাতে বাজা মধেক অভিতি সকলে ৰশিহা হালা প্ৰকাল বাহকে আহ্বান ক্রিলেন মৃত ভালিছা রাধাকে লইয়া সেল ব্রাবোগ্য স্থানে নকলে বনিলেন। ক্রেক সারে রাজা রাধনারাধ্য কাল করিছেন আপনারা সকলেই বিবেচনা কঞ্চন দেশাধিকারী অভিনর ছবু ও উত্তর ২ দৌরাখ্যার বৃদ্ধি হুইতেতে অভএব কি করা বাদ এই কথার পর মহারালা মতেল কহিলেন আমরা প্রবাহকেনে নবাবের চাক্র বলি আমার্মিলের হউতে কোন ক্ষতি নবাৰ নাহেবের হয় তবে অংশ এবং অখ্যাতি অতএব আদি কোন মৃদ্ধ কর্মের মধ্যে ধাকিবানা তবে বেপুর্বের এক আছে বাকা कहिबा किनाम त्य वर्ष केचा कांद्रक करेक्टन विवयना कतिनाम का गर

Kranachandra Rayer Charlers on 85-72.

কার্যা ভাগ ন্য এই কথাৰ পৰ ৰাহা বামনাবান্য ও ৰাহা ৰাছবন্নভ এবং জগংশেট ও মাবজার বাশি খা বাহ্যবেন ক্রাপি আপনি এ পরামর্শ ১৯তে ক্ষান্ত হুইধেন বি ১ দেশ বন্ধা পায় না এবং ভদ্র গোকেব ভাতি প্রাণ থাবা ভাব ২ইশ। জনের খনের রূপ বহিতে নহারাছা নভেত कृष्टिलन তোমবা वि अकान यनिना उथन नामा नामनावागन दिएलन পূর্ব্বে এ বণান প্রস্তাপ এক দিনস ২০মাছিল তাহাতে সবলে কহিনা-ছিলেন বালা ক্ষাচল বাৰ মতি বছ ন্থা ভাঁহাকে আনাইন জিজাসা कवा गाँछेक जिनि (५५न > भवामर्भ फिलन (नर्भेगज कार्या दिवन धर्मन वाडा क्षक वाग वह मायाट जाहिन हैशहर डिजामा वक्ष त त প্ৰামৰ্শ কহেন তাহাই এবণ ক্ৰিয়া যে হ্য পশ্চাং ক্ৰিণে। ইহাৰ পৰ বাজা কুন্টচন্দ্ৰ বান্তৰে সকলে জিজ্ঞাসা কৰিলেন তুমি সৰ লি জ্ঞাত ২ইনাছ এখন কি ব ৰ্তব্য। বাজা কুলচত বান হান্য কবিনা নিবেদন कवित्नन नश्माद्यवा नक्तारे खवान नश्चा जाननदांचा जानाक अञ्चनि ক্বিতেছেন প্রান্শ দিতে এবড আশ্চর্যা সে লে হউক আমি নিবেদন कवि তাহা धारण करून आभाविष्टाग हिमानिकावी विनि इनि छवन ইহাব দৌবাস্যাঞ্জনে আপনাবা ব্যন্ত হইনা উপাশান্তব চিন্তা ক্বিতেছেন। সন্তিব্যাহ্নত নীৰজাৰবালি খা সাহেৰ ইনিও জাতে জবন অতএব আমাৰ আশ্চর্যা বোধ হইতেছে। এই কথাব পব শকলে হান্য কবিনা কহিলেন হাঁ ইনি জবন বটেন কিন্ত ইহাঁৰ প্রকৃতি অতি উত্তম আপনি ইহাঁকে नात्मर कविद्यन ना अभ्हाद क्रवाहि वाय निर्वापन कविद्यान ध प्राचित्र উপব বুঝি ঈশ্ববেব নিগ্রহ হইষাছে নতুবা এক কালীন এত হ্য না প্রথম यिनि (म्याधिकावी देशैव मर्सना अवानिष्टे िष्ठा व्यवः (यथान छानन স্বন্দবী স্ত্রী আছে তাহা বলকনে গ্রহণ কবেন এবং কিঞ্চিৎ অপবাধে জাতি প্রাণ নষ্ট করেন দিতীয় বর্গী আদিধা দেশ লুট কবে তাহাতে মনোঝোগ নাই তৃতীৰ সন্মাসী আসিধা যাহাব উত্তম বৰ দেখে তাহাই ভাঙ্গিয়া কাষ্ঠ কবে তাহা কেহ নিবাৰণ কবে না অশেষ প্ৰকাৰ এ দেশে উৎপাত হইবাছে অতএব দেশেব কর্ত্তা জ্বন থাকিলে কাহাক ধর্ম থাকিবে না এবং জাতিও থাকিবে না অতএব ঈশ্ববেব নিগ্রহ না ২ইলে এত

উংপাত হয়না আমি এ হায়ণ খনেত্ব বিশিষ্ট লোককে কহিনাছি তোমরা সকলে ঐবত্তের আরাধনা বিশিষ্ট্রপে কর কেন আর উৎপাত-নাহৰ এবং জবন অধিকারীনা পাকে আহাং লাভি ধর্ম রকা পার এইব্রপ বাবচার আমি সর্ক্রাই করিতেছি মতএব নিবেধন করি মুখ্য স্ট্র করিবাছেন নষ্ট করিবেন না কিছু এক এপরানর্প আছে আমি নিবেলন করি বলি নকলের পরামর্শ সিছ হর তবে ভাহার চেটা পাইতে পারি। তখন বকলে জিঞানা করিলেন কি পরাধর্ণ কছ রাজা ওক্ততর রার কৃষ্টিলেন সকলে মনোযোগ করিবা প্রবণ কক্সন। এ মেশের অধিকারী मर्लाजकारत फेड्स इन এवर जना साठि ७ এटएम्मीब ना इन ७८०६ मन्न হয়। জন্মসেট প্রান্ততি ক্রিণেল এমন কে ডাহা বিভারিবা কর সালা কৃছিলেল বিলাতে নিবাস আতে বৈদ্যাল কৃত্যিকাতার কোটি ক্রিয়া আছেন বৃদি ভারাবারালের রালা হন তবে সকল মলল হবেক। ইহা তনিয়া নকলেই কহিলেন ভাষামদিলের কি ২ অব আছে রালা একচল রার ক্রিলেন তাঁচারদিপের খুব এট ২ স্কল সভাবাদী জিতে জিড প্রছিলো কবেদ না ৰোছা অতি বস্ত প্রান্তা প্রতি বর্ণেট ছবা এবং অভ্যন্ত ক্ষমতাপর পৃথিতে বৃহম্পতির নারি খনেতে কুবের তুল্য বার্ত্তিক এবং মাহ্নির ন্যার পরাক্রন আধার্ণাণনে পাক্রাং বৃদ্ধির এবং প্রকাশ ঐক্তাপর নিটের পালন ছাতের হমন রাভার সকল অব ভারাতদিনের খাছে অভ্যান বৃদি ভাঁছাৱা এ বেশাবিকারী হন তবে সকলেও নিভার নতবা ধারনে সকল নত করিবেক। এট কথার পর অপথ্যেট কহিলেন তাঁহারা উত্তম বটেন ভাষা আমি লাভ আছি কিছু তাঁহারনিখের বাক্য আনবাত ব্ৰিতে পাত্ৰি না ও আনাদিপের ৰাক্য ভাঁহাৱাও ব্ৰিতে পারেন না ইয়ার পর ছাজা একচল রার ক্রিবেন এখন ওীরারা ক্লিকাডার কোঠি করিবা বাণিয়া ক্রিডেছেন সেই কলিকাডার দক্ষিণে কাৰীৰাট নামে এক স্থান খাছে তাহাতে কাৰীটাকুৱাণী আছেন মামি মধ্যে ২ কালী পুৰার কারণ দিয়া থাকি সেট কালে কলিকাডার কোঠিন বিনি বড় সাংহৰ তাঁহাৰ শহিত সাক্ষাৎ কৰিবা থাকি ইহাতেই উহিার চরিক আনমি সমতাই আনত আছি। আই কথার পর রালারাম

नावायण करितान जाथनि माना २ विविधानि द्योदिव नेष्ठ मार्टिश्व मक्ष माफार करवन किए छोटान बांका नि खदानि जानि बुर्दन আৰু আপনকাৰ কণা তিনি বা বি প্ৰকাৰে জ্ৰাত ২ন। এই কথাৰ উত্তৰ বাজা ক্ষচন্দ্ৰ বায় ফভিলেন বাশিবাভাগ ফলেন ২ বিশিষ্ট লোকেৰ বসতি আছে তাঁহাবা সকলে ইম্বাহী ভাষা মভাায় কবিবাছেন। এবং সেই সকল বিশিষ্ট নহাৰ্য সাঙেৰেৰ চাক্ৰৰ আছেন ভাহাৰাই বুকাইনা দেন। ইহা छिनिया मकरन विश्वितन वैद्यान किना परिस्त विद्या निकल विद्या भीग অত্তাৰ আপনি বলিবাতায় গন্ন কবিনা যে সকল বলা উপন্থিত ১ইল এই সকল বুঙাও কোঠিব বঙ সাহেবেব নিকট জ্ঞাত বুবাইবা তিনি বেনন ২ কংহন বিভাবিত আশাবদেব বহিনা এবং তিনি প্রতিপ্রা কবিনেন তাহাবা দেশাধিকাৰী হইলে আনাবদিগেব এ বাভ্যেব প্রভুল ব্যবিদেন আব এখন যে ২ কার্য্য আনাবদিগের আছে ইহাতেই বানিবেন। এই কথাৰ পৰে বাজা কঞ্চল বাদ কহিলেন তাঁহাৰা দেশাধিকাৰী হইবেন বাজ্যেব প্রতুল বাধিলেই বাজাব প্রতুলহন আনাদেব এবগা বহনে আবশাক নাই তবে যে কথা কহিলেন আপনাৰ দিগেৰ যে যে কাৰ্য্য আছে ইহাতে নিৰুক্ত বাখিবেন তাহাব কোন সন্দেহ নহাশবৈবা কবিবেন না তাঁহাবদিগেব বাজা ২ইলেই স্বৰ্থী নবল লোক ২ইবেক কি ভ্ৰ আপনাবা আনাকে নিতান্ত হিব কবিনা আজ্ঞা ককন। প্রবে সকলেই কহিলেন এই ন্থিব হইল আপনি কলিকাতাম গ্ৰন ক্ৰম ইহা বলিবা বাজা क्रक्षेत्र वागरक विभाग कविया भवाल य य या छात्न अछान व विल्ना।

The name of Mityunjay Bidyalankar, for many years the chief Pundit of the College of Fort William and for some time Carey's own Munsi, whom Home has immortalised in Carey's portiait, is an important one in the literary listory of this period Nothing practically is known about his life, but he is said to have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A likeness of this will be found in William's Scrampore Letters (1800 1816) It may be remarked here that Mṛṭyuñjay's

been born in 1762 at Midnapore (then included in Orissa) and educated at Natore. In physique and knowledge, he has been compared to Dr Johnson and he was held in high and deserved estimation. In the English preface to Praboth-chandrika which was edited in 1838 after

Mrtyunjay s death Marahman
Marahman a tribute suloguses the learned pundit as one
of the most profound scholars of the

age At the head of the establishment of Pandits Marshman writes elsewhere; stood Mrityunjov who although a native of Orissa, 2 usually regarded as the Bosta of the country was a colosius of literature. He bore a strong resemblance to our great lexicographer not only by his stopendous acquirements and the soundness of his critical judgments but also in his rough features and his unwieldly figure. His knowledge of the Sansont

titi was Bigil side and not Tari ! Al. as mentioned by Dinesh Chandra Sen in History (p. 888) See Noebuck p at App II p 29 also Smith p cit p 170

History of Berampore M es a

Mytynfij y seems to have been as proteins in the Uthys dislect as in Benguil. It was his help that coubled Carry to translat the Scriptures into the Od ya dislect. (Smith,  $p \circ t \neq 190$ )

In this connexion M. M. Haraprazid firstri in the lecture reterred to before a speaks ! Mrtyndijay as an Odjis in the it might be noted here that sithough born in a province of Orism it is very doubtful whether Mrtyndijay was really an Odlyk Prom the edition of his work Enjöbeli published in 1850 by a person calling himself the writer's grandsom it seems that he belonged to the Ohntyndidydy class of Bengali B shmaps for the title-page of the sforesail edition says — "Agraciax or he straight and straight at a straight and the straight and the straight and the straight and the southern y with the Pandit is styled by himself as wiled [Novika Pandin] Office Repert 1, p. 040] calls Mrtyndijay a Bhatjachleyys and his controvery with the Pandit is styled by himself as wiled [Agracia Pandin] Mrtyndijay was a Bidlya Bilthman (Afrix Siglis Agracia Pandin)

classics was uniivalled, and his Bengali composition has never been superseded for ease, simplicity and vigour

M1 Carey sat under his instruction two of three hours daily while in Calcutta, and the effect of this intercourse was speedily visible in the superior accuracy and purity of his translations". He was specially attached to Carey and it was at Carey's suggestion that he undertook the literary works which constitute his chief contribution to Bengali literature and language 2

The literary labours of Mityunjay, embracing almost the whole of this decade (1802-1813), consist, besides a Defence of Idolatory and a treatise on the Hindu Law of Inheritance<sup>3</sup>, of the following four publications, of which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Carey never, however, was influenced by Mityunjay's pompous, affected, sauscritised language. His native instinct for realism saved him from this extreme

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mrtyunjay was also one of the junists of the Supreme Court, and when the agitation about Satī was at its height and the whole body of law pundits wrote of it as "permitted," Mrtyunjay gave his opinion that, according to Hinduism, a life of moitification rather self immolation was the law for a widow

<sup>3</sup> Rev J Long, Return of the Names and Writings of 515 Persons connected with Bengali Literature (1855), p 135 This work, Defence of Idolatory, as mentioned by Long, seems to have been the same as the Bedänta Chandrikā against which Rām mohan Rāy wrote his Edificity Aleo for (1817) and his English tract "A Second Defence of the Monotherstical System of the Veds in Reply to an Apology for the present State of Hindu Worship" (1817) Says Miss Collect "Another defendant of Hinduism appeared some mouths later in the Head Pundit of the Government College at Calcutta, Mrityunjoy Vidyalankar, who published a tract called Vedanta Chandrika" (Life and Letters of Raya Rammohan Roy, p 23 See also Nagendranāth Chatterji, Life of Rāmmohan Rāy in Bengali, p 103) The Bedānta Chandrikā was printed both in Bengali and in English, and defended the current form of idolatorous Hinduism against Rām mohan's party. It shows

two are original works and two translations from Sangerit ---

- 1 Batras Sinhagan 1802
- 2 Reloyades 1808 2nd Fd 1814 3rd Ed 1821
- 3 Rusabati 1508
- 4 Probodk Chandrika 1813

Batris Stables is a close translation in plain simple Bengali of a very jopular and well known times supposed to be of Buddhistic origin sometimes attributed to no less a writer than Batris Stables.

Kahdasa ' The title hterally means means the thirty-two thrones but it should be rather the thirty-two twages of Bitrawädityas.

all the acholarship and sincerity of an orthodox punlit but at the same time it; marked by a deplorable tone of violence and personal rancour

The first edition (which is in the Imperi 1 Library Calcutta) bears the f llowing title page - ব্ৰিপ সিংহাসন। সংগ্ৰহ ভাষাতে ৷ মৃত্যুক্তর পর্বদা दिश्रद। दीवांश्राद कांगा करेता अरु रा pp 210 Tl copy in th British Museum Library bears the foll will titl rage: " alar freinn: 33184 = 54 Paus | hv v | Rocha L | cit having apparently seen this edition gives 1808 the late I its first publication; and this has been the usual lat given by those who f llow him (eg Log Ramgari Nyayaratna te) But Bu hanan, p ! i 1500 mentions this publication at p 222 though he gives no exact The title-page f the Lond a reprint mys Aftertificais ৰ্মিৰ প্ৰবাৰণ দি থাকৰ কুমাৰ । খাখাকা ভাষতে । আনুষ্ঠাৰ প্ৰবাৰ চিত্ৰ। কুমান TRIBUTE SIMILARY 1 2000 | The edition in the Library of the Board of Examiners (London repri t) lso bears 1810 as the data of publication The Hangabasi reprint is from the latter edition but some alterations in spelling of make the book less valuable t the atulent Simila remarks apply to its edition of Proboth-ch adrild and Midball There was a Srirampur reprint in 1818, a is evident from the anter I the Cal logue f the Calcutt Publ L'brury (1898) and an ther reprit a late as 1834 as the copy in th Rabilton Parient Library and ntry in the Catalogue of Bengali

throne 1 Each of these images is introduced as telling a story descriptive of the princely character of that King, and showing that a prince worthy of succeeding him cannot be found. The earlier style of Mrtyungay, as displayed in this work, if not superior to that of some of his contemporaries, was certainly less affected and pedantic than his later style, although somewhat sansentised presents a great contrast indeed in language and manner at once to Carey's Dialogues as well as to Pratapadityacharitra published only a year before itself and Lipimālā published in the same year. As on the one hand, it is marked by a total absence of Persian influence and a decided tendency to sanscriticised style, so on the other, by its preference of the classical language, it uses superior to the colloqualism and flatness of the Dialogues story with its framework is well-known Bikiamaditya dies, his thione, the precious gift of India who was pleased with the King's excellent qualities, is buried, and for a long time remains hidden. Many years afterwards, a peasant cultivating his land discovers that, when sitting on a platform in the midst of his field, he becomes endowed with the qualities of great disceinment and decision By the direction of Bhoja, the reigning monaich of the country, the ground is and the lost throne is duly discovered underneath the When the king, in the midst of a large circle of courtiers is about to take his scat there, the first image informs him, that without Bikiamaditya's qualities,

Printed Books in the British Museum show (p. 67) The London ed of 1834 is also mentioned in the Catalogue of the Library of the East India College

<sup>1</sup> It is also sometimes known an Biliamacharitra, because King Biliama is the hero, tales of whose prowess and virtue are told by the thirty two images of his charined throne discovered by Bhoja

he is unworthy to occupy Bikramiditya a throne. Explanation ensues and a story is told by each one of the thirty two images in succession. Illustrative of the former king a great and good qualities and implying that a worthy successor to him has not yet been by an amongst the sous of men. It is one of the most interesting collections of fables of this period, and the following extract from the beginning relating to the finding and disposing of the magic throne will surve as a specimen of its descriptive and narrative manner—

দৈবলীকিকোতৰ সামৰ্থ সম্পন্ন ত্ৰীবিক্তমানিতঃ নামে এক গ্ৰাজাবিদ্বাদ ধ্ৰীগাছিলেন। সেবপ্ৰসাদলভ্ৰবান্তিংশং প্ৰতিনিকাৰ্ক বৰুণৰ এক সিংচালন

The opening passage on the Discovery of the Throne q oted তাহার বসিবার ছিল। ঐ শ্রীবিঞ্চাদিত্য রাজাব অর্গাবোচন পরে সেই সিংহাদনে নসিবার উপরক্ষ পাত্র কেছ না থাকাতে সিংহাদন

স্তিকার মধ্যে প্রোথিত হইবাছিল। কিছু কাল পবে প্রীভোগনানার দাবিকারের সময়ে ঐ সিংহাসন প্রকাশ কইন। তাদার উপাধ্যানের দিয়াব এই —

ষ্ঠিপ দেশে ধায়া নামে এক প্রী ছিল সেই নগরের নিকটে স্থাক্তর নামে এক স্থাকেও পাঁকে তার্থার হৃণকের নাম ৭০০ প্র। সেই ক্রমক নগাকেওএর চ্চূর্বিগে প্রিপা করিরা পাল তাল তদাল পিরাল হিওাল বকুল আর আন্তাতক চলক আপোল কিতেক বক শুবাক নারিকেল নাগ্রেলর মাধরী মালতী মুটী স্লাভী পেবতী কণলী বাছিনী তগর কুম্বারিকা বেবছাক প্রভৃতি নানাল আতীর বৃক্ষ বোলণ করিরা এক উংগ্রাক হিরা আপানি সেই উল্যানের মধ্যে থাকেল। সেই উল্যানের নিকট নিবছ (নিবিছ) গুরানক বন ছিল সে বন হইতে হত্তী ব্যায় মহিব গাশ্ডার বানর বন্দুকর লগক তালুক হরিব আদি শনেক পশু আর আণিরা সদ্যানই প্রত্যাক করে। এয়য় ব্যার ব্যার ইইবা স্থাবদ্যার করিব ক্ষেত্র অধান বানর বন্দুকর লগক তালুক হরিব আদি শনেক পশু আর আণিরা সদ্যানই প্রত্যাক করে। এয়য় ব্যার হুইবা স্থাবদ্যার করিব ক্ষেত্র প্রায় ব্যার করিব ক্ষেত্র প্রায় ব্যার করিব ক্ষেত্র প্রায় ব্যার করিব ক্ষেত্র প্রায় ব্যার করিব ক্ষেত্র ব্যার হুইবা স্থাবদ্যার করিব ক্ষেত্র প্রত্যাক করে। এয়য় ব্যার ব্যার হুইবা স্থাবদ্যার ব্যার ক্ষেত্র প্রত্যাক করে প্রত্যাক করে প্রত্যাক করে প্রত্যাক করে ব্যার হুইবা স্থাবদ্যার ব্যার ক্ষেত্র প্রত্যাক করে প্রত্যাক করে ক্ষেত্র ব্যার হুইবা স্থাবদ্যার করেব ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ব্যার ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ব্যার ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ব্যার ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষার ক্ষেত্র ক্ষেত্র ক্ষার ক্যার ক্ষার ক্যার ক্ষার ক্যার ক্ষার ক্ষার ক্ষার ক্ষার ক্ষার ক্ষার ক্য

Yates gives no less than 14 at ries from this book in hi selection and Haughton gives 4

নধ্যে এক মঞ্চ কৰিয়া আপনি তথাতে থাবিশ মঞ্চেব উপৰে নতমণ বদিয়া থাকে তৎমণ বাচাধিবাহেব মেমত প্রতাপ ও শাসন ও মমুণা নেইমত প্রতাপ ও শানন ও মহাণা ক্লয়ব ক্ষেত্র মধ্য সঞ্চ হইতে নামে তথন ৬৫৬৭ প্রায় থাকি (থাবে)। ইহা দেখিয়া কুম্বের প্রিন্তন শোরেরা ব৬ই বিশ্বিত হইনা প্ৰদেশৰ বহে এ বি আশ্চৰ্যা। এই বৃত্তবি (বৃত্তান্ত) লোকপ্ৰপ্ৰবাতে ধাৰাগুৰীৰ বাদা ভোছ শুনিঘেন। অন্তৰ বাদা কৌতুকাবিষ্ট ১ইয়া মণ্ডি সামস্ত সৈত্য সেনাপতিব সহিত মঞ্চেব নিবটে গিয়া ক্রুকের ব্যবহর (ন্যবহার) প্রত্যাস দেখিয়া আপনবার অত্যাত বিখানপাত্র এব মন্ত্রিকে মঞ্চেব উপবে ব্যাইলেন। সেই মন্ত্রী মানত মঞ্চেব উপবে থাকে তাৰত বাজাধিবাজেৰ প্ৰায় প্ৰতাপ ও শাসন ও মহণা কৰে। ইহা দেখিয়া বাজা চমৎকৃত ২টয়া বিচাব ব বিশেশ যে এ শক্তি নঞ্চেৰ নয वार क्वरवादा नग वार मिश्वर नग विच व छोरान मरना हमरवाद কোনহ বও (বস্তু) আছেন তাহাবি শক্তিতে হুৰবে বাজানিবাজপ্ৰায় হয়। ইহা নিশ্চন কৰিয়া দ্ৰব্যেৰ উদ্ধাৰ কৰেণ সেই স্থান প্ৰণা কৰিতে নহা বাজা আজ্ঞা দিনেন। আজ্ঞা পাইনা ভূতাবর্গেবা খনন কবিল তৎপব সেই স্থান হইতে প্রবল (প্রবাল) নুকা নানিকা হীবক ধ্র্যাকান্ত চন্দ্ৰকাস্ত নীলকাস্ত পদ্মবাগ মনিগণেতে জডিত বতিশ পুত্তলিকাতে শোভিত তেজোময় এক দিব্য বহুসিংহানন উঠিলেন। সেই সিংহাননের তেঙ্গে বাজা ও বাজাব পবিজন লোকেবা সিংহানন প্রতি এবলোকন কবিতে পাবিলেন না। তৎপৰ বাজা হাইচিত্ত ২ইযা আপনাৰ বাজধানীতে সিংহাসন আনমনেব ইচ্ছা কবিয়া ভতাবর্গের দিগে আঞা কবিলেন। আজ্ঞা পাইনা ভূত্যবর্গোবা (বর্গেবা) সিংহাসন চালন কাবণ অনেক যত্ন কবিল সে স্থান হইতে সিংহাসন লভিল না। তৎপব আকাশবাণী হইল যে হে বাজা নানাবিধ বস্তু অলম্বাব আদি উপক্বণ দিখা এ সিংহাসনেব পূজা বলিদান হোম কৰ তবে সিংহাসন উঠিবে তাহা শুনিষা বাজা সেইকণ কবাতে সিংহাসন অনায়ানে উঠিলেন।

তৎপব ধাবানানে নিজ বাজধানীতে সিংহাদন আনিয়া স্বৰ্ণ ৰূপ্য প্ৰবাল ক্ষটিকময় স্বস্তুতে শোভিত বাজসভা স্থানেব মধ্যে স্থাপিত কবিবেন। পূৰে রাজা সেই সিংহাদনে বসিতে ইছল করিয়া পতিত-গোকেরদিগকে আনাইরা ভাভতণ নিরূপণ করিরা ভানবর্গেরদিগকে মদিবক বান্থী আহোচন কবিতে মালা করিলেন। ভার্থেরা আলা পাইবা দ্বি ভর্লা চন্দ্রন পুল অগোর বুদ্ধন গোরোচনা ছত্র তরার চামর মবুরপুদ্ধ মরণত পতিপুরবভা ত্রীগাণৰ ২০১০ দর্শণাদি অধিবাস সাম্ঞী সম্বর্থণা পৃথিবীর চিক্টেড চিত্রিত এক ব্যাম চর্ম এই সকল পাছেতি वामान्दिक नामश्री चारहाबन कविहा बामाव निकार नि बनन कहिन। তংপৰ মিশেলয়ালা ক্ষল প্রোটিত প্রতি প্রাহ্মণ পরিত্রণ মন্তি সামন্ত দৈল দেনাপতিতে বেষ্টিড হটরা দি কাসনে বদিরা অভিবিক্ত হবাব নিমিকে বিংহার নর নিকটে উপস্থিত হইলেন ইতাববারে (ইতাবসরে) সি হারনের अल्म भुविषिका दाणादक दृहिएउ गालिकान। तह रामा नन ता वामा গুৰুৱান মতাম ধনবান অফিল্যু দাতা এতাও ব্যালু অভিবৃত্ন পুর বারিক প্রভাব সরা উৎসার শ প্রথম প্রভাপ হন সেই বালা এই সিংহাননে ব্যিবার বোণা অভ সামার রালা উপযুক্ত নত। ইলা ভ্রিরা রাজা স্থিপেন হে পুত্রনিকা আমি ঘাচঞা মাত্রে উপযুক্ত পাত্র বুৰিলা সার্ছ লক্ষ खुर्र पि चड धर माना इदेटड मादिक (यशिक) माडा भूभियेटड चछ दक धारक । हेरा अनिया भूद्रिका উপराम किश्रया (क्रिया) करिएनन। हर बाबा খন বে গোক মহত হয় সে মাপনার ওপ আবপনি বর্ণনা করে না জুমি আপন গুণ আপনি ব্যাখ্যা করিলে ইহাতেই ব্রিলাম কৃষি মতি কৃত্র।

Mrtyuijay's next work of translation was that of

Hitopades The Sanscrit Hitopades
than which there might be greater
books in the world but none perhaps which has a more
interesting literary history seems to have with strange
prescience gauged the literary or amusive require
in its not only of its own but also of times to follow
and consequently it seems to have always possessed a
peruliar fascination for a host of translators of all periods

of literary history There are some half a dozen or more translations of this work between 1300 and 1850, and it is not necessary to bring under review all of them. But this version being the work of Mrtyunjay possesses a peculial interest of its own Long gives 1801 as the date of its publication but from internal evidence of language and manner it seems that Its date the date is a too early one We have not been able to obtain sight of the first edition in order to venify the date 1 but the work seems to have been composed later than as Golak-nath Hitopades and exemplifies Mrtyunjay's earlier Its language and style compared to style It would be interesting to those of Golak nath compare Golak-nāth's language as shown in the specimen quoted at p 183 et seg with that

<sup>1</sup> The copy I use is a third reprint at Śrīnāmpur (1814) and bears the following title page পঞ্চস্ত প্রভৃতি নীতিশাস্ত ২ইতে উদ্ভা মিএলাভ হৃহান্ডেদ বিগ্রহ সন্ধি। এ৩৮৬৬ ষ্টুয়াব্যব বিশিষ্ট হিডোপদেশ। বিঞ্শর্ম কর্ত্তি সংগৃহীত। বাঙ্গালা ভাষাতে। খুড়াঞ্লয শর্মণা ক্রিয়ত। শ্রীবামপুরে তৃতীয় বার ছাপা ২ইল। ১৮১৪। pp 1-146 I have not been able to get the first edition of this work. The copy in the British Museum Library (Blumhardt, Catalogue, p 67 and p 115) of the second edition bears 1814 as the date of publication 3rd Ea 1821 would appear from Dinesh Chandra Sen, Banga Sāhitya Parichay or Selection from Bengali Literature, pt in (1914) p 1727, that the first edition was published in 1801. But this is incorrect, this is the date of the first edition of Golak naths Hitopades There is mention of a "Hitopadeshu in Bengali Svo Seiampore 1808" in the Catalogue of the Library of the East India College But in the Catalogue of the Library of the Hon East India Company, we find an entry of "Hitopadeshu of Salutary Instructions See Serampore 1808" without any mention of the name of the author and of an edition apparently of Golak nath'a earlier Hitopades (1801) From the Tenth Memon, relative to Sciampore translation (Appendix), it is clear that the first edition of Mityunjay's Hilopades was published in 1808, and therefore the anonymous entry in the Catalogue of the East India College above noted must refer to this work

of Mrtinujas in the following extrict bearing upon the same part of the story?

পুত্ত বিধ্বিনাশ্ব নিমিত প্রথমত প্রার্থনাক্রণ মন্ত্রাচরণ কবিছেছেন।

ভাদবার ফেশ্বেপার হাছ চল্ললা থাছার মত্ত মাছেন সে শিবেৰ ময়গ্য ২০০ সাধুবোকের বিয়েব সাধ্য কর্ম সিভ হউক।

क्षण पर किर्माणपर हेरि मध्य उ मारकार महेला व मर्स्स বাংকার বৈচিতা ও নীডিবিয়া দেন। প্রাক্ত লোক অলর ও ধন্বেব ভার হইরা বিশা এবং অর্থ ডিয়া করিবেক। মার বনকড়ক কেশে পুৰীতের মত হটরা বর্থাচরণ কবিবেক। মাব সকল প্রবার মধ্যে विशिष्टे बहाइम स्वत हैम पिछान्या कहिबाद्यन (१६५० विश्वाव वर्त কাৰে চৌধাৰি কয়ক অব্যাহৰ ও অনুদাহ ও অক্তহ। আৰু বিহা মৰি নাচ বাকেব হয় তবে বেট মধ্যকে চন্দ্ৰাপ্য বাহাকে পাওয়ান। মেন নীচণানৰী ছআপো সমূহতে পাওয়ান বাচাৰ মছে মেলন কেতৃক বিভা উৎচট ভাগা পা এছান। বিশা বিনয় দেন বিনরেতে পাছতা পার পাত্ৰণা হুইতে ধন পাৱধন হুইতে ধৰ্ম্ম পাৱধৰ্ম হুইতে স্থপ পাৰ। শস্ত্ৰ বিদ্বা ও শাস্ত্র বিহা এই চই বিহা অভিগতির নিমিতে হন লিক্ক আছা শন্ত্রবিহা ুভাব্রাতে হাস্যের নিমিত্র হয় বিতীয়া লামবিছা দর্গকালে আধ্রণীয়া হন অপর বেডেফুল নুডন পাতে সুব্যু বে চিলু সে অঞ্পা হয় না সেই ८६३० नगहत ६८न८७ वानाकद नवर्ष व शहर नोठि कहा वाहे ८०६६ মিছবাড ও এবংগে ও বিগ্রন্থ কাষ্ট্র এত্তত ইয়ামুক নীতিশার পঞ্জয় ∍ইতে ও আর ২ গ্রন্থ হটতে আকর্ষণ করিবা বিশা বাইতেছে।—

ভাগারণা তারে শাটনিপুত্র নামে নগর আছে সেখানে সকল রাজ্ঞান কুল অংশন নামে রাজা ছিপেন সেই ভূপতি এক সমর কাহারও কচক গঠায়ান রোক্তর প্রথণ কবিংগন তাহার ফর্ব এই মনেক সন্দেহের নাশক এব অংশগ্রুক বিখনের জ্ঞাপক যে শাস্ত্র সে স্কলেব চকু ইয়া বাহাব আই সে ক্ষেম্ব। আর যৌসন ও ধনস্পতি ও

ւ (**էւ** չիվ էր թթ. 3-8

প্রভুত্ব ও অবিবেকতা এই চতুষ্টয় প্রত্যেকেও অনর্থেব নিমিত্ত হয যেথানে এ চতুষ্টর দেথানে কি হর কহিতে পাবি না। ইহা শুনিগা দে বাজা অজ্ঞাতশান্ত্র এবং সর্ব্বদা বিপথগামী আপন পুত্রেবদিগেব শান্ত বিজ্ঞাপনার্থে উদিগ্নচিও হইয়া চিঙা কবিলেন। যে পুত্র পণ্ডিত ও ধার্মিক নব সে পুত্র হওয়াতে কি প্রধোজন ববং অনর্থ হয় যেমন কাণচকুতে কিছু প্রযোজন নাই প্রত্যুত কাণচকু কেবল পীডাবি কাবণ। এবং অজাত মৃত ও মূর্থ ইহাব মধ্যে আছিম্ব ভাল অন্তিম ভাল নম্ম বেহেতুক আছাৰ্য একবাৰ ছঃখদায়ক হয় অন্তিম পুনঃ পদে পদে তঃখদায়ক হয়। অপব গর্ভপ্রাবও ভাল ফ্রীঅভিগ্রমন না কবাও ভাল জনিয়া মবাও ভাল কন্তা হওয়াও ভাল ভার্যা বন্ধ্যা হওয়াও ভাল গর্ছ হইতে ভূমিষ্ঠ না হওয়াও ভাল কপ ও ধনসমূহবিশিষ্ঠ মূর্যপুত্র কিছু নয়। এবং যে পুত্র জিনালে বংশ উন্নতি পায় সে জনুক নতুবা জন্মন্বণ ধর্মাণালি সংসাবে কে মবিয়া না জন্ম। অপব গুণিসমূহ গণনাবন্তে গণ্ডমেতে থড়ী যাহাব না পড়ে সে পুলেতে মাতা যদি পুত্রবতী হয় তবে কহ বন্ধ্যা কেমন হয়। এবং দান ও তপশু৷ ও শৌর্যা ও বিদ্যা ও ধনার্জনেতে যাহাব মন সচেষ্ট না হব সে মাতাব বিষ্ঠা মাত্র। গুণবান এক পুত্রও ভাল শত শত মূর্থ পুলেব প্রায়েজন নাই ধেনন এক চল্র অন্ধকাব নষ্ট কবেন তাবা নমূহ কিছু কবিতে পাবে না। কবিয়া বাজা পণ্ডিত সভা কবাইলেন অনগুব বাজা কহিলেন ভো ভো পণ্ডিতেবা আমাৰ কথা শ্ৰবণ ককন। আছে কেছ এমন পণ্ডিত যে নিত্যবিপথগামি ও অবিদিতশাস্ত্র আনাব পুত্রেবদেব এখন নীতি শাস্ত্রোপদেশদাবা পুনর্জন্ম কর্বাইতে সমর্থ হয়। যে হেতুক সংসর্গেতে কাঁচ বেমন মবকতেব ত্মতি ধাবণ কবে তেমন পণ্ডিত সন্নিধানেতে মূর্যও প্রবীণত্ব পায়। পণ্ডিতেবদেব কণ্ঠ কি সে প্রকাব উক্ত ২ইগ্নছে। হীন লোকেবদেব সহিত বানেতে মতি হীনা হয এবং স্বস্থান লোকেবদৈব সহিত বাসেতে মতি সমতাকে পায় এবং উত্তম লোকেবদেব সহিত বানেতে মতি উত্তৰতাকে পায়। ইহার মধ্যে বুহস্পতিত্ব্য

সকল নীতিনাত্রের বধার্বজাতা বিজ্পার্য নামে পণ্ডিত কহিলেন হে মহারাল সংস্থানাত্রর এই রালগান্তর। এই হেতুক জানা হইছে নীতিনার গ্রহণ করিতে শক্ত হইবেন ব্যেহতুক কোন জিলা জরাক পাউতা হইলে কনবেটা হর না বেনন নানাপ্রকাণ বংগ্রতে ভক্সফির জার বক পাউতি হর না। আর এ গোহের নিও দ স্থান লয়ে না ব্যেহতুক প্রস্থাগনির আক্রেডে কাঁচন্দির লয় কোবার এই হেতুক আদি হর নাসের মধ্যে ভোনার প্রশ্রেরিদ্যুকে নীতিনাত্রজ করিব।

রালা পুনর্থান বিনরপুর্বক কহিনেন পুলাহবালেও কীটও গলোকের
নত্তকে আবাহের করে করা করেছিল করে করেছ প্রপ্রতিপ্রিও প্রান্তরও
ক্ষেত্রক গার। আর বেছন উবহাচন এ এবং স্থাসির্হানে দীপ্তি গার
তেমনি সংগ্রিবানেও হানবর্গত শীপ্তি গার সেই হেডুক এই আমার
প্রপ্রেমনির্দকে নীতিশাহে। নহেনের নিমিত্ত সেরাই প্রমান হইবাছে। ইহা
কহিরা সেই বিশ্ববার বহুগনানপুর্বক প্রয়োহগকে সমর্পন করিনেন।

From a literary point of view however Mytvini
Original works. In ye two original works. Rājatatī and
Prabodk-chaudrika are more interest
ing, and of these, Rājatatī both in form and matter,
is no doubt the better work Rājatatī
as its name implies is the history of
the kings' who roled in this country from the carliest
time and its full title will sufficiently explain its scope! —

The description of this work in Dineah Chandra Son a Hartery (p. 888) as 'the history of India from the earliest time down to recent times 'is clearly a mistake; for the history is brought down to recent times via the time of the British occupation of Bengal. The title-page given in the text above is that of later editions but in the first edition the title-page simply mys.—Mintell MAR visited 1918 141 [Parts | Allow mentioned as such in the catalogues of the Library of Bard of Franciscus, Pert William College; of the Library of the Hom. East India Company of the Library of the Reast India Company of the Library of the Reast India College the Edward of the Reast India College the Rea

work

বাঙাবণী। অর্থাৎ কলিব প্রাবম্ভ হটতে ইংবাজের অনিবাব প্রায় ভাবতবর্ষেব বাদা ও সত্রাটদেব সংখেপ ইতিহাস। The work is, however, based more on fradition than on authentic history The introductory portion gives the story of the ancient Hindu Kings since the days of Kuinksetra, based mostly on the Pauramk accounts and traditionary legends and of these the account of King Bikiamaditya is the longest and most entertaining. The story comes down to the historic times of the The scope of the

Mohammedan conquest and there is

some account of Adisūi, Ballāl Sen, Laksman Sen of Bengul and Pithu and Jayachandia of Delhi and Kanauj Then follows a sketch of the Pathan and Mogul kings of Delhi, and of these the stories of Akbai, Jahangii, Shah Jahan and Amangzeb will be found interesting These accounts, however, are not strictly historical but there is a considerable infusion of gossip and fiction. The work ends with an account of the Butish occupation of Bengal after the defeat of Suajuddaulah, worth comparison with that given by Rajib Lochan in Rājā Krena Chardia Rayer Charitia The concluding passage is interesting এইন্বপে নন্বংশ্ভাত বিশাবদ অবধি শাহ্তালন বাদ্শাহ্ পর্যাও ও নুনইনগা নবাব অবধি নবাব কাসমলী খাঁ পৰ্যান্ত কোন কোন স্থাট বাজাবদেব ও নবাবেবদেব ও তাঁহাবদেব চাক্ব লোকেবদেব স্বানিদ্রোহাদি নানাবিধ পাপেতে এই হিন্দুখানেব বিনাশোনুথ হওবাতে প্রমেশ্বের ইচ্ছানতে ঐ হিন্দু-স্থানের বঙ্গার্থ আবোপিত কণ্পনি বাহাদূবেব ভাধিকাবন্ধপ বৃণ্ণেব পুষ্পিতত্ব ও ফলি৩থেব সম্বধাৰক যে বডসাহেব তৎকণ্ঠ ক ঐ কম্পনি বাহাদ্বেব অবিকাবরূপ বৃণেব আলবালত্বে নিরূপিত পাঠশালাব পণ্ডিত শ্রীমৃত্যুঞ্জয় শর্মা কণ্ঠক গৌডীর ভাষাতে বচিত বাজতবঙ্গ নামে গ্রন্থ সমাপ্ত হইল। There are numerous anecdotes but the story is presented in a connected form and the style is marked

by narrative case nod simplicity although at places where

it language and mann't bordering on th pedantic. the author gions serious, it becomes laboured and pedantic. The style of Virtumias however has a distinction of its own when contrasted with

those of his contemporaries. It shows a decided leaning to Sanserit words and Sanseritic forms just as the styles

Itsunseritised tyle contrasted with the plain colled fall atyles of Cares and others and santenue forms jost as the styles of Care; Rüm Basu or Chandleharan show a return to the colloqual language in Mrthudjay's writings there is an attempt to raise the

language from the negligence of collespondium to the dignity and sensusmess of a literary language while in Carey and others the desire is always to be clear popular and oveful. But it must be admitted that in the more sensus portions of Mrtynfipays writings, the prepender ance of bancerit words and Sanserit forms, makes the syntax martistic and the cities stiff and unnatural. In the narrative portions, however, this fault disappears, and the general manner in this work although bordering on the pedantic is indeed interesting of which the following short passage, taken from the account of Prthin and Jayachandra will serve as a specimen.

পৃথ্যভাব পর ব্যনেতে বে প্রকাবে বিদীতে অবিকার করিল তাহা দিবি ---

কাকতুত্ব গেশেব রামা অন্তল্ল নাটোর মধাবন পরাক্রম ছিনেন এবং বড় ধনী ছিনেন কাছাকে ননেতে কাধাকে প্রতিতে এইরূপে

Au extract from the account of the bottlity of Prthu and J yachandra নামে অনুষ্ঠ স্কল হাঞাকে আগন bottlity of Prthu and J yachandra নামে অনুষ্ঠ স্কল্পী এক কয়া ছিলেন উট্টিব

বিবাহের নিমিতে বে বে বর উপস্থিত হয় ভাষারদের মধ্যে কেই তাঁখার

<sup>1</sup> pp, 100-100

মনোনীত হইল না। পবে বাজা এক দিবদ উদিগ্ন হইনা কভাকে জিঙ্গাসা কবিলেন যে আমি তোনাৰ বিবাহেৰ নিনিছে যে বৰ উপস্থিত কবি দে তোমাৰ মনোনীত হয় না ইহাতে তোমাৰ মনস্ত কি তাহা আমাকে কহ আমি তদন্তন্ত্রপ কবি। বাজকন্তা এই কথা শুনিয়া কহিলেন হে নহাবাজ আপনি আমাব কণ্ডা আপনকাব যে মনও তাহাই হইতে পাবে আমাৰ মনত্তে কি কৰে তবে আপন মনত্ত বাহা তাহা আজ্ঞান্তপাবে কহি গাপনি সম্প্রতি অতি বড বাজা বাহা ইচ্ছা কবেন তাহাই ক্বিতে পাবেন আমি আপনকাব ক্যা ইহাব নত বিবাহ হইলে ব৬ ভাল হয় ইহাতে আমি এই মনে কবিয়াছি আপনি এক বাজস্থ্য যক্ত আবস্ত কৰ্ণন তাহাতে নকল বাজাবদেব নিমন্ত্ৰণ কৰ্ণন তবে প্ৰকল বাজাবা অবশ্য আসিবেন সেই বাজাবদেব মধ্যে আপন ননোনীত যে বাজাকে দেখিব তাহাকে স্বয়ং ববণ কবিব। বাজা কন্যাব এই বাক্য শুনিরা বাজস্থ এজেব আবন্ত কবিথা দক্ত বাজাবদেব নিমন্ত্রণ কবিলেন। সে নিমগ্রণে কুমাবিকাখণ্ডস্থ সকল বাজাবা আইলেন কিন্ত দিল্লীব পৃথুবাজাব আগমন কালে তাঁহাব প্রাচীন এক চাকব তাঁহাকে কহিল হে মহাবাজ বাজস্থৰ বজেৰ নিমন্ত্ৰণে গেলে কৰকপে কিছু দিতে হয় আপনি দিল্লীব বাজা আপনি যে অন্য বাজাকে কিছু কব দেন সে ভাল নয় ৩বে প্রীতিতে ষজ্ঞসনাপনার্থে কিছু দিলেও লোকত অপ্রতিঠা হইবে অতএব এ নিমন্ত্রণে আপনকাব যাওয়া উপথুক্ত নর। বাজা এই কথাতে সে নিমগ্রণে আইলেন না। কান্যকুঞ্চের বাজা জন্মচন্দ্ৰ এই কথা শুনিতে পাইয়া 'অন্তঃবৰণে জতি ক্ৰন্ধ ইইলেন ও সভাস্থ পণ্ডিত লোকেবদিগকে জিজ্ঞাসা কবিলেন দ্বিলীব বাজা আইলেন না যজ্ঞ সমাপন কিরূপে হয়। পণ্ডিতেবা কহিলেন বাজস্থুর যজ্ঞেব অঞ্চ বাজাবা ২ন অপেব অভাবে প্রতিনিধিতেও প্রধান কর্ম সিদ্ধ হয় অতএব দ্বিলীৰ বাজাৰ প্ৰতিনিধি এক স্বৰ্ণ প্ৰতিমা নিৰ্মাণ কঞ্চন পূৰ্ব্বে স্থ্যবংশীয় রামচল্র নামে এক মহাবাজ হইরাছিলেন তিনি নৈমিধাবণ্যে যথন খঞেব আবম্ভ কবিয়াছিলেন তাহাব পূর্ব্ব কিছু দিন কোনহ কাব-ণেতে আপন স্ত্রী সীতাকে বনবাস দিয়াছিলেন অতএব ৭০০ কালে

ওঁচার স্ত্রী ছিলেন না এই প্রযুক্ত বনিষ্ঠ মাবালি প্রাকৃতি নহানুনিরা হানচন্দের জীয় প্রতিনিধিকণে এক বর্ণপ্রতিমা নির্মাণ করাইরা মুক্ত ফরাইরাছিলেন আপ্রনিও বেইন্ড জন্ম মজ আব্র ক্রিবা স্মাপ্র ना क्षित्व वहुँहे (नाव। बासा भिति अत्याद वहें वात्मार भूवाभाव প্রতিনিধিবলে এক বর্ণ প্রতিমা করিয়া ঐ অভিনাকে খারিরপে স্থাপন করিকেন কেননা রাজ্যর হচ্চে নিমন্তিত বে বে রাজাবা মাসিয়া খাকেন উলোলা উপ্যক্ত নত কেছ কোন্ছ কৰ্ম কলিবা পাকেন। অঞ্চল্ল রালা পুরুষায়ার না লাগাতে কৃত্ত হুইরাছিলেন অতএব উাহার প্রতিমাকে অনুগধুক কর্মে ছাপন কবিলেন। ইছা পুগুছামা ওনিতে পাইরা ব<sup>7</sup>বনো কান্যকুর দেশে নানিরা লহচল যালার ননেক সৈন্য নই করিয়া ঐ বর্ণ ক্রতিমা শ্ট্রা গেলেন। ৩৪নখন রাজা জনচল্ল কোনঃ প্রাকারে বজ সমাপন করিবা অতাও অপবানিত হটবা রহিলেন। অই প্রকারে পুশুরালাকে বড় বলবান ও অপবান দেখিলা লাভকনা। মে যে রাজারা আদিবাছিল ভাষারণের মধ্যে ভাষাকেও এরখবদ লা ক্রিয়া ক্ছিণেন যে মামি পুরুষালা ব্যতিবেকে অন্য লাভাকে বরণ করিব না। অবচল স্বাহা আপন কলার এই নিশ্চর জানিহা কলার উপর অভাও ফুর হুইরা কলাকে আপন বাটা হুইতে দ্ব করিরা দিলেন ও কছিলেন তোর বাহা ইচ্ছা তাহাই কর গিরা। রাজ কন্যা জন্য কোনৰ কাষ্ট্ৰত লোকের বাটাতে কাসিলা রছিলেন। এ সকল বিষয় পুধুরালা শুনিতে পাইরা চন্দ্র নামে এক ভাটকে লবচন্দ্র রাজার নিকটে পাঠাইরা দিলেন। ও এক পত্র লিখিলেন ভারার পাঠ এই হে মহারাজ লবচন্দ্ৰ তোধাৰ কন্যা আধাকে বিবাহ কৰিছেও মনস্ক কৰিবাছেল উছিব ৰে এ মনত্ব সে উপযুক্ত বটে কিছ ভূমি ৰে ইং।তে তাঁং।ৰ প্ৰতি ফ্ৰন্থ হইয়াছ সে অভান্ত অনুচিত করিহাছ তোমার কন্যার মনত্ব অন্যথা কৰনও হইবেনা ইহা নিতৰ আনিবা। এইরুণ গত দিয়া চক্রভাটকে পাঠাইরা আপনিও সমৈন্যে কান্যকুল দেশে প্রহান ক্রিলেন চক্রডাট ব্যৱস্থা হামার কাছে গিয়া সে পত্র বিশেন। কিন্তু ব্যৱস্থা হামা সে পতার্থ অব্যত হইরা কিছু উত্তর দিলেন না। পুধুরালা চক্রভাটের প্রামুখাৎ ইহা জাতা হইনা আপন নোগাতাতে বাছবন্যাকে শইনা দ্বিনীতে প্রছান ববিশেন। পুণুবাদাব দৈনা স্বাশ বনোছেতে গাকিল পশ্চাং ছনচল বাজা ইহা শুনিতে শাইনা সন্দৈন্য আদিশা পুণুবাজাৰ সৈন্যের সহিত বছ মুদ্র ববিশেন। এমুদ্ধে ছাই দিগেতে ৭০০০ সাত হাজাব লোক নই হইল। ছনচল বাদা আপনাব অনেক লোক নই হওমাতে গুক্ হইতে বিবত হঠনা প্রস্থান ববিশেন। পুণুবাজাব অন্থিষ্ট সৈন্য হিনীতে ক্ আসিনা পৌছিল। এইকপে পুণুবাজাব ও জনচল বাজাব বছ পত্র আহ্বা।

Prabodh-chandrikā or Moon-light of Intelligence, his next great original work, is indeed prabodh chandrilā, a most interesting publication of this period from the standpoint of form and language, if not for its matter. It is an elaborate treatise

<sup>1</sup> This work, though composed in 1813, was not published till 1833, when it appeared from the Sciampore Press with a Preface by J C Maishman (dated 15th May, 1833) The title page says -"প্রবোবচন্দ্রিকা। এীমৃত্যুপ্রয় বিদ্যালম্বাব কর্ত্র ঘোট উইলিখন কালেভেব ছাত্রেরদেব নিনিও বচিত। এীবামপুর মুদ্রাযন্ত্রালয়ে মুদ্রাধিত হইল। ১৮৩৩। pp 1--195 Chundrila compiled by the late Mrityunjoy The Vidyulunkai, many years Chief Pundit in the College of Fort William, From the Serampore Press 1833", pp 1 x1 and 1-195 The fount is very neat and clear There was a second edition at Serampore in 1845 as the Catalogue of Bengali Printed Books in the Library of the British Museum p 67 shows Another edition in the Sahitya Parisat Library dated 1862, Serampore Also another edition 1862, with the following title page in English and Bengali Prabodh Chandrika compiled by the Late Mrityunjoy Bidyalankar for many years Chief Pandit in the College of Fort William, Calcutta, Printed for the Calcutta University at the Baptist Mission প্রবোধচন্ত্রিকা। শ্রীবৃত মৃত্যঞ্জম বিদ্যালগ্ধার কর্তৃক বির্নচিতা। কলিকাতা ইউনিবর্দিটীব অমুনত্যস্থাবে ব্যাপটিষ্ট মিসন যন্ত্রালয়ে মুদ্রাঞ্চিতা ২ইল। শ্ৰাকা ১৭৮৪ ।" "All these editions may be seen to the Sahitya Parisat Libiary Entered as "Prubodh Chundrika by Miityunjoy Vidyulinkar, 8vo Serampore, 1833" in the Catalogue of the Library of the Hon, East India Company, 1845 p 195

of some length divided into four parts called उनक each
of which again is subdivided into chapters called
\$777. The book begins with the praise of language
which however as quoted below, will not be found very
entertaining for its stiff and pedantic

Object and scope of the work as put forth in an introd ctory passage entertaining for its stiff and pedantic style but will somewhat exemplify and explain the Pundit's preference

for Sunscrit -

অকারাধি করারাধানবদানা বছনি গলানং সংগাকা কিয়া এক পরানাং কিয়া সংগাকাবং সংখ্যা পরিনিতা হউক তথাপি এতাব্যাত্র ওতিনর বর্গাবনীবিন্যানবিলেববনত হৈদিক গৌকিক সংস্কৃত প্রাকৃত গৈণাচাদি অইয়ান ভাষা ও নানাবেশ্যার মহয়া আতীয় ভাষা-বিশেববনত এনেক প্রকার ভাষাহিছিত্য শাহতো লোকত প্রশিদ্ধ আছে। দেনন কুমর কানি তুম্যাকানি নিয়াম বর। গোরবাধকার বর বর আনান্ত বর আনান্ত স্বর সংখ্যাবিশ্ববিশ্ববন্ত অসংখ্যাত সান্ত্রিকির শারতো লোকত প্রসিদ্ধ আছে। তেওকা প্রদিদ্ধ গর্মাধিক কর্মাধ্যাত সান্ত্রিকির শারতো লোকত প্রসিদ্ধ আছে। তেওকা প্রদিদ্ধ গর্মাধিক কর্মাধ্যাত সান্ত্রিকির শার্মাক মান্ত্রিকির পরিক্র প্রস্কর্মান্ত্রীর প্রক্রিক্র প্রস্কার্মান্ত স্বিদ্ধিক বর্মাধ্যাত প্রসিদ্ধিকার স্বর্মাক্র স্বর্মাক্র প্রস্কার্মাক্র প্রস্কার্মান্ত প্রস্কার্মান্ত সান্ত্রিকার স্বর্মাক্র স্বর্মান্ত প্রস্কার্মান্ত স্বান্তির পরিক্র স্বর্মান্ত স্বান্তির স্বর্মান্ত স্বান্ত স্বা

অন্তিব্যক্তব্য ক্ষান্থ কাল বাজানী ভাষা প্রকাশ বেষন অভিনব ক্ষাবেষদের ভাষা। তদনত্বর অভিব্যক্ত বর্ণনারা পঞ্জীনামক ভাষা বিতীয়া বেষন প্রাপ্তিবংকি বালকবারী। তংশর পদনারাক্ষক মধ্যনা তিয়া ভূতীয়া ভাষা বেষন পূর্বোকিবালকাথিক কিছিবলধ দিও ভাষা। তারগর বাক্যকা বৈষরী নানবের সকলবার ব্রুলা বিবিব্রানপ্রকাশিকা সর্ব্ধবিব্রাক্ষিত ভাষা। ভাষার বেষন শৌকিক লাগ্রীর ভাষা। নিলুবলক লাত্যার বাক্তকের উপ্রোক্তর ব্যাহান্তিক্ষণে ক্ষমণ প্রক্রিয়া ভাষা। ক্ষুক্তর ব্যাহান্তিক্ষণে ক্ষমণ প্রক্রিয়াল ভাষা অনুদালিতে স্ক্রাক্ষর বিব্রাক্ষিকবাল স্ক্রিয়াল ক্ষমি প্রক্রিয়াল ক্ষমি ভাষা। ক্ষমি ভাষা প্রক্রিয়াল ক্ষমি ভাষা ক্ষমি ক্ষমি ভাষা ক্ষমি ক্ষমি ভাষা ক্ষমি ক্যমি ক্ষমি ক্য

ইহাব প্রমাণ এই। দূববর্তি হট্টগানি লোকেবদেব শ্রবণবিষয়ীভূত ২ট্টাগতধ্বনিশাত্রাত্মক কেবল কোলাহল হয়। অনন্তব কতিপয় পথ-গ্যনোত্তব স্থান্ত শ্রবণেন্দ্রিয় সন্নিকর্ষবশতঃ খণ্ডশঃ বর্ণ মাত্র গ্রহণ হয়। তত্বত্ব বসন ভূষণ কদলীমূলক ইত্যাদি পদমাত্র শ্রবণ ২য়। তদনন্তব ২টনিকট প্রাপ্ত্যভূব ক্রমবিক্রণকাবি পুক্ষেবদেব বাক্যশ্রুতি হয়। অতএব অন্মদাদিভাষা চতুর্ব্ছিহন্নপে প্রবর্ত্তমানভাষাত্বহেতুক পূর্ব্বোক্ত-ক্রম হট্টন্থ পুরুবভাষার ন্যায় ইত্যন্তমানে সকল মানুষ ভাষার চতুর্বভূহ-রূপত্ব নিশ্চয় হয়। তবে যে অখদাদিব ভাষাব যুগপৎ বৈথবীরূপতামাত্র প্রতীতি সে উচ্চাবণ ক্রিগাব অতিশীঘ্রতাপ্রযুক্ত উপর্যাবোভাবাবস্থিত কোমলতব বছল কনলদল স্থচীবেধন ক্রিরাব মত। এতজ্ঞপে প্রবর্তনান দকল ভাষাহইতে সংশ্বত ভাষা উত্তমা বহুবর্ণনম্বপ্রযুক্ত একদাক্ষব পশুপিকভাষাহইতে বহুতবাক্ষৰ মন্ত্ৰা ভাষাৰ মত ইত্যন্ত্ৰমানে সংস্কৃত ভাষা দর্ব্বোন্তমা এই নিশ্চ্য। অপ্তান্ত দেশীর ভাষাহইতে গৌডদেশীর ভাবা উত্তগা সর্ব্বোত্তগা সংশ্বত ভাষা বাহুল্যহেতুক। বেগন গ্রহ এক পণ্ডিতাধিষ্ঠিত দেশহইতে বহুতব পণ্ডিতাধিষ্ঠিত দেশ উত্তম ইত্যন্তমানে সকল লোকিক ভাষাৰ মধ্যে উত্তম গোঙীয় ভাষাতে অভিনৰ থ্বক সাহেবজাতেব শিক্ষার্থে কোন পণ্ডিত প্রবোধচন্দ্রিকা নামে গ্রন্থ বচিতেছেন। ইতি প্রবোধচন্দ্রিকায়াং মুখবন্ধে ভাষা প্রসংশা নাম প্রথমকুপ্রখং 11

Then King Baijpāl, son of Bikiamāditya, summons his young and fiolicsome child Śrīdhaiādhaia before him and, in order to infuse in the son a love of learning, begins a discussion on the subject. Afterwards he entrusts the instruction of his

he entrusts the instruction of his son to Acharya Prabhakai, who to educate his young pupil begins by lecturing to him in a stiff and laboured language upon every conceivable subject beginning with the philosophy

¹ প্ৰবোধচন্দ্ৰিকা pp 12

of the alphabet rules of grammar rhetono law logic a tronomy and politics and various other branches of useful knowledge and finishing the wholo by salutary instructions illustrated by popular tales. The book is indeed a monument of learning and written also in a learned language

But the book mapite of its learning has no system and the writer is almost wholly devoid of all artistic unstincts of proportion or arrangement.

Want of system and ment The serious is mingled up with the comic abstrase metaphysical

speculation is patitude by side with the low talk of peasants mechanics and quarrelsome women and often there is a sudden and lodicrous descent from the most pedantic and laboured language to the extreme rulgarity of the popular dislect. It is indeed a hotel potch—a curious collection of tales and serious escays bound together by a very slender thread.

Nor is the language of the book all that could be desired. In the preface to the work Marshman remarks very significantly that "any person who can comprehend the present work and enter into the spirit of its beautics may justly consider himself master of the language." But to comprehend the present work would mean some familiarity with Sansent without which the book would not be easily intelligible and there can be no doubt that this grounding in Sansent would certainly help much in acquiring a command over the more literary aspects of the language. But the tendency to sansentusing his been carried to the extreme

Its importance and position in the historic development of prose style. Indeed Prabodk-char lrikā exemplifies one important aspect of the development of prose style in this period and brings into clear relief the long

continued struggle between the plain and the ornate style

out of which is evolved modern prose the plain style favoured by the European writers and their imitators, while the ornate style advocated by learned pundits of the

Purity of diction orthodox school like Mrtynnjay The language is correct and absolutely free from the taint of Persian, and Marshman's eulogy that the book is "written in the purest Bengalee" is perfectly justifiable, but when that learned missionary and scholar speaks of its Bengah as "one of the most beautiful specimens" of prose style, it is obvious that he stretches his point too far The harsh unrhythmical obscure Sanscrit-ridden style is far from the best that this period has to show in Bengah prose. The genius of Sanscrit is not the same as that of Bengah and it would be a mistake to suppose that Sanscrit syntax should rule syntax.

The style Inboured and pedantic for its close imitation of Sanscrit in Bengali Preponderance of Sanscrit words indeed gives strength and variety to tile prose as well as purity and correctness to the diction, but

the sesquipedalian affectation of laboured style becomes wearisome in a short time. The use of long-drawn-out

compound words, occurrence of unusual phrases, and extensive borrowing from Sanserit make it difficult sometimes for the uninitiated to comprehend the sentences at the first glance. In the technical or philosophical portions again the style sometimes assumes a peculiar stiffness and learned tone. In some places, the sentences are so very lengthy and irregular in structure and arrangement that it becomes almost impossible to find out their meaning easily, while in other places, the writer, anxious to exhibit a variety of style, has

<sup>্</sup>ব See for instance প্রথম ওবক, তৃতীয় ও চতুর্থ কুম্ম। দিঙীয় ওবক, প্রথম কুম্ম।

indulged in the use of language current only among the lower orders the vulganty of which however says Marsh man he has abundantly redeemed by his vein of original humour." In this work the student may range at will over all lands of Bengali prose of this period

Use of the curre t language and hume from the lighest to the lowest, al though the Sansentired style preponde-

rates from sentences so studded with Sanserit combinations as to be almost unintelligible to those who have not learnt the classical language down to vulgar abuse and colloqual freedom. We had already seen a specimen of its more difficult style the following extract will be a good illustration of the author's use of the colloqual language!—

বাটার নিকটে বিরা [ বিশ্ব বৃদ্ধক ] আগন রাকে ভাকিন ও ১৫৭৭ দা ওবে গোড়িরা বিশ্ব আরু নানা আদি এক বাটাকে বৃদ্ধ ১৫ থাকে। বিশ্ব আরু নানা আদি এক বাটাকে বৃদ্ধ ১৫ থাকে। তালার ত্রী পতিক্রিনা কহিল ওলো আদি বাইতে পারিবো না আদার হাত বোড়া আহে। তংগতি বিশ্ববৃদ্ধক আবর আবিরা ব্রীকে কহিল আরু এই নে আধি বড় মলা ইইবাছে ধীরা সার শুরু এক কুপা পাওরা সিরাহে এক বেটা সন্মীহাড়া আগন এই শুরু দেশাইরা আনার সেই দিএর বড়া আনিত্যতা তাহা নিরা আননি আহান করিবাছে মনে ননে বড় হব হইবাছে বে আলি বংগঠ মুড পাইলান পালাই তেওঁ পাইলে বা পীর র গাবাড়া কর আদি নাইবাই আনাহাছি স্থাতে পেট আনিতেছে। আ কহিল শুড় হইলেই কি র গোহা হতেল নাই কুন নাই চাউল নাই ওবলারিপাতি বিভূই নাই কাইকগা স্কলি ভিলা বেগাতি বা কিবলে হবে তাতে আবার বৌহু ভি আছা হইবাছে কুটনা বা কে বাটবো। তংগতি কদিল আলি কি বছে কিছুই নাই কোলেপি বুদ্ধ ড়া বনি বিহু পাকে তবে তার পিঠা কর এই গুড় বিহা পাইবা। ইংগতে তাহার ত্রী কহিল বটে পিঠা করা বুলি বড় সোৱা

জান না পিঠা আঠা বেনন স্বাঠা লাগিলে শীত্র ছাঙে না তেননি পিঠাব শেঠা বঙ লেঠা শীত্র ছাঙে না কথনোতো কাঁবিয়া থাও নাই স্বাব লোকেবদেব মাউগেব মতন মাউগ পাইগা গাকিতে তবে জানিতে।

ইহা শুনিয়া বিশ্বক্ষৰ কহিল তবে কি আজি গাওয়া হবে না শুবায় কি সবিব। তৎপত্নী বভিল নৰ ৰসালে আজি বি পিঠা না খাইলিই নয দেগিদেকি হাডীকুঁড়ী গুদকুঁড়া যদি কিছু গাবে। ইহা কহিলা ঘৰ ১ইতে খুদৰু ডা ভানিনা বাটিতে বসিনা কহিন শীলটা ভান বটে লোভাটা যা ইচ্ছা তা এতে বি চিকণ নাটনা হয় নক্ষক বেনন হউক নাটিত। ইহা কহিণা খুদকু ডা বাটিয়া কহিল বাটাতো একপ্রকাব হইল আলুনি পিঠা খাইবা না লুন তেণ মানিতে ২ইবে। গতিজিনাব এই কথা শুনিবা বিশ্ববঞ্চক কহিল ওবে বাছা ঠক তৈল লবণ কোণা হইতে গোছেগাছে কিছু জান। ইহা শুনিয়া ১কনানে তৎপুত্র কোন প্রভনীব ছালিগ্নাকে আয় আমাৰ সংস্ক তোকে মোয়া দিব এইনপে ভুলাইয়া সংস্ লইয়া বাজাবে গিয়া এক মুদিৰ দোকানে ঐ বালককে বনক বাথিয়া তৈল লবণ লইবা ঘবে আইল। তৎপিতা জিজ্ঞাসিল কিন্ধপে তৈল লবণ আনিলি ঠক কহিল এক ছোঁডাকে ভুলাইবা বন্ধক দিয়া নুদিশালাকে ঠকিয়া আনিলান ইহা শুনিয়া তৎপিতা কহিল হাঁ মোৰ বাছা এই তো বটে না হবে কেন আমাৰ পুত্ৰ ভাল অন্ন কবিয়া থাইতে পাৰিবে। এইৰূপে পুত্রেব ধন্তবাদ কবিধা ভার্যাকে কহিল ওলো মাগি যা যা শীঘ্র পিঠা কবিগা ক্ষুধাতে বাঁচি না।

It will be seen, however, that his nariative and descriptive manner as well as his power of weaving dialogues into his story is really praiseworthy for his time. But it must not be supposed that between these extremes of

His general narra tive manner ease and dignity colloquialism on the one hand and academic pedantiy on the other, Mrtyunjay never succeeded in steering a middle course. On the contrary,

from the following extract it will be seen that his narrative

style though sanscritised often assumes an ease and dignity reminding one of the later style of Brdyasagar t —

प्रसावांत्रामा क्यांतीनगीलीरव नकवांनांगिय क्रक कम्यो क्रमणा करवन বিবিধ কুছে সাধা তপ ক্রিছাও তপঃশিভিভাগী হন না। দৈবাং ঐ অপোবনের অপোবনেতে এক দিবস নারধমূনি আনিরা উপস্থিত। হইলেন। ঐ তপ্ৰী বহুনান পুৰুসৰ সাভাইটাৰন দান ও স্বাগত প্ৰান্ন কৰিবা নারদর্ত্তিক নিবেদন করিলেন। কে ইখরদর্শি মুনি বহুকাল্যাতীত ভুটাল আমি তপ্তল ক্রিডেডি তপ সি**ডি হ**র না ক্তকাণে আনার তপ নিছি চটাৰ ট্ৰা আগনি ইব্ৰুসনীপে আনিবা আৰাকে আলা ক্রিবেন। ভালবের এই বাজ্য তদিহা নারণমূলি ঈশ্রণরিধানে লিয়া তাভার কলা নিবেদন করিবেন। টবর আজা করিবেন ঐ তাপনের ওলোবনোপকটে বে অভিবৃহৎ ভিক্তি। कुर आहर त्य প্রক্রের বস্ত পত্র কন্ত বংসারে ভার ওপঞ্জিনিছি হটবে। ঐপরের এট আঞা নামদ ক্ৰমিৰা ঐ ডগোবনকে কছিলেন অপোধন ক্ৰনিবামাত্ৰ প্রশালাগে উইবাত হট্টা নৃত্য কবিতে লাগিলেন ও কহিলেন ভাল কৰনো হউক আমার তপ সিদ্ধি হইবেতো তপথী এইএলে অভান্ত দ্ত্রীত্রক্ষণ হট্যা নাগ্রদ্ধনিধ নিকটে ব্রিরা আছেন ইত্যব্দ্রে প্রন্থের ব্যং ঐ তাগনের মাপ্রনে মানিরা তাহাকে দর্শন দিয়া কহিলেন। কে ভাগন আন্ন ভোমার তপ সিদ্ধি হুইন ভাষার বিল্যাের কারণ যে সকল লাল ছিল তাহা তোমার নিটার এতাদুশী পরাকাটাতে সক্তই হইরা ভোনাকে ক্ষমা ক্রিলাণ এইরংগ ঐ ভগবিতে ভগবিতি বর প্রচান ক্রিডা (ক্রিরা) ঈশ্বর অন্তর্হিত ক্রনেন। তথনস্তর নারধ্যুনি ঐ তলোহনকে কৰিলেল হে ওপত্তি কাৰ্যালিছিল কালেব কিছু ইছৱা নাই কিছু পুলুৱৰ বিখাসপুৰ্বকৈ অভিয়াভিক নিঠাতে সৰ্বই প্ৰদেশ্বের প্ৰসাধ ব্যন হয় তথনি কাৰ্য্যসিদ্ধি হয় হৈব বাবং থাকে তাবং পৰ্য্যন্ত কাৰ্য্যসিদ্ধি হইতে পারে না।

व्यत्वावतिक्षको pp 56-57

The last though not the least important work of this period is Purus-pariksā or the Hurapinsad Ray Tual of Man composed by Harapiasād Rāv and published by the Stīrāmpin Piess in 1815 1 It is a pretty large volume Purus Paril sā and contains 52 stories2 translated 1815 from a Sanskut original said to have been composed by the poet Bidyapati at the command of Rājā Sibasimlia. Its object is not only to impart ethical instruction, by extolling and Its scope indicited illustrating the virtues of men, but by the author himself also to entertain by elever and amusing stories, and this is set forth at the beginning of the

¹ The title page says —এীযুত বিদ্যাপতি পণ্ডিত বৰ্ত্ত বাংক্য ন গৃহীতা পুরুষ পরাশা। হবপ্রদাদ বায় কর্তৃক বাফালা ভাষাতে বচিতা। শ্রীরামপুবে চাপা ২ইল (১৮১৫ | pp 1-273 It is very remarkable that this book has been published by the Bangabasi Press (B S 1301) as a work by Mrtynnjay Bidyalankar I am not aware of the existence of any such work by Mrtynnjay nor does Roebuck, Buchanan, or Long mention it The Bangabasi reprint, however, is not very accurate Of Haraprasad Ray's life, little seems to be known Long (Return of the Names and Writings, etc., 1855) speaks of him as "Haraprasad Ray of Kanchrapara" The copy in the British Museum Library (Blumbaidt, Catalogue, p 113) of the first edition bears the same title page, date and place of publication as we have quoted above but there is also another edition in the same Library reprinted at London in 1826 And a tlurd revised edition, Calcutta, possibly of 1866 Also in the Catalogue of the Library of the Hon East India Company, 1845, p 195, and in the Catalogue of the Library of the East India College, the name of the author is not stated in these Catalogues An edition dated Calcutta 1818 is entered in the Catalogue of the Library of the East India College, 1843 There are two editions (apparently of 1834 and 1853 respectively though the title page is wanting) in the Library of the Sahitya Parisat

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Although there are stories in this work which would have better been expargated

<sup>3</sup> As a book of fable, this work seems to have been very popular

work — এতিনৰ প্ৰজাবিধিই যাল্যকৰদিটোৰ নীৰ্ণি ছোৱা নিমিতে এব কাকলাকোইকাবিধি প্ৰয়ীগ্ৰেৰ হাৰ্যৰ নিমিত্ত এপিবসিংচ খালাৰ আন্ত্যান্ত্ৰাৰ বিহাপতি নামে কৰি এই প্ৰায় বহনা কৰিতেছেল। এব এই প্ৰাৰ্থনা কৰিছে ছেল যে বহলানাৰ্থনা নিৰ্মাণ্ডৰ যে পতিত সকল ভাষাৰা নীতি বোলাগ্ৰোগক যে এই সকল নাকোৰ গ্ৰাণ ভাৱিনিতে কি আমাৰ মহিত এই প্ৰায় প্ৰবাহক কৰিবেন না মাৰ্থাং কৰক প্ৰবাহ কৰিবেন। যে প্ৰায়েৰ কথা সকল কোকোৰ মাৰ্থাং কৰক প্ৰবাহক হব এবং যে প্ৰায়েৰ কথা সকল কোকোৰ মাৰ্থনা হয় সেই প্ৰবাহ পৰীক্ষা নামক প্ৰস্তুক হচনা কৰা যাইতেছে ধূৰ্ণ

The framework of the story is this. Once upon a time a certain king anxions to marry his beautiful daughter consulted a certain rage on the subject

The framework of The rage advised him to marry his the collection daughter to a man Asked what the characteristics of a real man are the sage begins enumerating and illustrating the various virtues of a real man and the object of manhood. The book is comparable in many respects to Metvuhiay a Baters Similaran or Pradodk-chandrika and although not equally learned or affected the style shows the same It la gu ge ami style tendency to supremitization and borders almost on the pedantic. By taste and inclination Hara pra ad seems to belong to the same orthodox school as Mrtyufijay It is hardly necessary to illustrate his style at a great length and the following short quotation picked out from the more easy portions will be found sofficient to enable the reader to form his own judgment -

Dr. Yates gives 10 stories from it the second volume of hi I tred ction and H ughton gives 4

न्दरपशीयां pp. ३-4

## অথ অলসক্থা। 1

সকল কার্য্যেব উভোগেব যে হেতু সেই উৎসাহ তাহাকে জীবেব ধর্মবিশেষ কহা ধাব সেই উৎসাহহীন যে মন্ত্র্য্য সে অলস হয তাহাব উদাহবণ এই।

মিথিলা নগবীতে বীবেশ্বৰ নামে এক বাজমন্ত্রী থাকেন তিনি দান-শীল এবং অত্যন্ত দগ্ধালু সকল জুর্গত ও অনাথ লোকেবদিগেবে প্রতিদিন তাহাবদেব ইচ্ছানত আহাব দান কবেন কিন্তু ঐ সকলেব মধ্যে অলম লোকেবদিগেবে অগ্ন এবং বন্ত্র দান কবেন। যে হেতুক অলম লোক জঠবা-গ্লিতে ব্যাকুল হইগ্নাও আলশুপ্রযুক্ত কোন কর্ম কবিতে পাবে না অতএব অলম লোক সকল জুর্গতেব মধ্যে প্রধান গণিত হইগ্নাছে অথবা আলশু প্রথন

Illustrative extract from the story of the indolent men

স্থান তথা শ্রিতক্সপে খ্যাত খেহেতুক আলম্ভ-মাত্রাবলম্বি পুরুষেব অক্ষুদ্ধ মন কোন বিষয়াকাজ্জা কবে না এবং সে স্বয়ং কোন অভিলম্বিত কর্মে

শ্রমথুক্ত হয় না কেবল জঠবায়ি তাহাব নিদ্রাজন্ম স্থ্য নষ্ট কবে আমি এই বিবেচনা কবি। পবে অনেক লোভী লোক অলসেবদেব অভীষ্ট লাভ শুনিয়া সেথানে গিয়া অলসেবদিগেব সহিত থাকিল যে হেতুক স্বজাতীয়েব সহবাস সকলেব স্থাকর হয় এবং স্বজাতীয়েব স্থা দেখিয়া কোন জীব সেথানে না যায়। পবে ধূর্ত্তেবা অলসেবদেব স্থা দেখিয়া কৃত্রিম আলশু প্রকাশ করিয়া সেথানে ভোজনদ্রব্য গ্রহণ কবিতে লাগিল। পশ্চাৎ নিয়োগি প্রশবেরা অলসশালাতে অনেক দ্রব্য ব্যথ জানিয়া এই প্রামর্শ কবিল যে স্বামী অলসেবদিগকে অম্মর জানিয়া প্রত্য প্রবাদর্শ কবিল যে স্বামী অলসেবদিগকে অম্মর জানিয়া প্রত্য প্রদার ভিন্ন অশু অশু লোকও কপট কবিয়া দ্রব্যগ্রহণ কবিতেছে সে আমাবদেব বৃদ্ধিল্রমপ্রযুক্ত অত্রের কেবল আমাবদিগের দোবেতেই প্রভুব ধন নম্ভ হইতেছে ইহাতে আমবা প্রত্যবায়ী হইব। অত্রের সকল অলসেবদেব পরীক্ষা কবি এই প্রামর্শ কবিয়া অলসেবা যে গৃহে শরন কবিয়াছিল সেই গৃহে অয়ি দিয়া নিকটে থাকিল তথন নেই গৃহে শিরন কবিয়াছিল সেই গৃহে অয়ি দিয়া নিকটে থাকিল তথন নেই গৃহে শিরত ধৃর্ত্ত সকল গৃহহতে অতিশয় প্রজ্বলিতায়ি দেখিয়া

¹ পুৰুষপৰী el, pp 55 58

পূবে প্রারণ করিব। ক্ষাব্র পুরুরেরাও প্রারণ করিব। প্রকৃত খন্দ চারিজন দেখানে শুলন করিয়া পরশার কথোপকখন করিতে শালিণ এব ভাহারদের মধ্যে একমন ব্যেতে আপন মুগ ঢাকিয়া किर्तिक अन्त कोर कि निर्मित वह क्यानाहन कर्रे प्रका विशेष शक्ति करिन यापि क्यूडन कदि त এই ग्राह कवि नागित्रा शक्ति। তখন সূতীয় দল্য কহিলেছে এখানে এমত ধাৰ্মিক গোক কেছ নাই যে আৰু বহু কিবা আই শ্যাক্ষণক মামায়ৰের শ্রীর আওচ করে। চকুর্ঘ অলপ ইয়া অনিয়া কহিল এছে বাচাল সকল তোমরা কত क्या केहरड भाव कि सोनी इहेग्रा पाकिए हे भाव ना। भन्तार নি হালিপুরুষরা এই চারি অনুধ্বোকের প্রশ্বালাপ ওনিয়া তাথার দিগের উপরে অনিশহনের ৬.১০. সেই চারি অনুস গোকেরদের কেলাকর্যণ করিয়া যে গুড়ের বাহিরে ভানিলেন। ভন্তর নিয়োগি चन्दर्य अर द्वार गाउँ कविल्म छात्र वर्ष और त्वार औलादन খামী গতি এব বান করদিগের অননী গতি সেটত্রপ মান্দ লোকের দিলের মহালু পুরুবই বৃতি তথাকিরকে অন্ত গতিনাই। পাব সেই मिताति भूक्तवद्यां चन्यमदिशास्य भूति ६६८७ चनिक मामओ बान कविरु লাগিলেন। ইতি খণ্ডক্ৰা স্থাপ্তা।

## CHAPTER VII

## EARLIEST BENGALI JOURNALISM

It will be seen that almost all the publications of the College of Fort William were printed and issued at

Periodicals and Newspapers published by **S**rirāmpur Press, 1818 the Sinampur Press <sup>1</sup> But a greater work than this was accomplished by it and its missionary founders when in 1818 Di Maishman, in

conjunction with Dr Carey, proposed and carried out a scheme of publishing a monthly journal and a newspaper in Bengali. Such a project had long been present in the minds of the Śrīrāmpur brethren, for the Press as a means of diffusing knowledge is always an important and useful auxiliary to an earnest missionary but stringent restrictions on the Press, especially the vernacular press, had made it difficult for them to carry out their noble purpose

Digdarsan (April 1818) or The Indian Youth's Magazine When therefore in February 1818, Dr Marshman proposed the publication of *Digdarsan*, Carey in his anxiety for the safety of the mission,

consented only on condition that it should be a monthly, and should avoid political discussion <sup>2</sup> The first Bengali periodical therefore confined itself purely to instructive

- When on March 21, 1800, an advertisement appeared in the official Calcutta Gazette, announcing that the missionaries had established a press at Śrīrāmpur, it at once roused Lord Wellesley who, although a liberal statesman, had fettered the press in British India. But on the assurance of Mr Brown, the Governor General wrote to the missionaries saying that he was personally favourable to the movement and that such an Oriental press would be invaluable to the College of Fort William
- <sup>2</sup> Here is an extract from the minutes of the meeting of the Mission regarding the publication of Digdarsan —
- "Feb 13th, 1818 Mr Marshman having proposed the publication of a periodical work in Bengali to be sold amongst the natives for the

literary scientific or historical essays of general interest, Each article was written both in Bengali and Luglish put opposite to each other the English version on one page on the left and the Bengali on the next page on the right. The Digdarsan or Magazine for Indian Fouth as its title-page says in the alternative ( দিস্থৰ্ন অৰ্থাৎ ব্ৰ লোকের কারণ সংগ্রীত নানা উপদেশ) was published in April 1818 and was thus the first paper of its kind in Bengali An enumeration of the contents of the first number would indicate the nature as well as the variety of the topics dealt with. It was essentially meant for the diffusion of useful knowledge on various subjects and none of the articles had any great protensions for original writing artistic presentation or literary finish. The first number contained the following articles - आध्यक्तिकाद सर्वन বিবৰে (Of the Discovery of America) হিমুখানের শীখার বিবরণ

purpose I exciting a spirit I equiry among them, it was resolved that there was no objection to the p blication of such a journal provided all political intelligence in re-expecially regarding the East, be excluded from it and it do not prear in a form likely to large government. It must therefore be confined to articles of general information and notice of new discoveries, but a small place may be allotted to local events, with the view of rendering it attractive (Hutery of Serempore Musicov vol. ii p 161.)

Prom the T ath Messo relative to Serampore Tran 1 Mons (July 1832 Appendix) it appears that two editions were farmed, or in billingual, English and Bengali (2) in Bengali all in the volumes we have been blue truce, were invited from April 1818 to March 1819 and from January to April 1820) re billingual; while were xx to transfer March 1820 to February 1821) It is published only in Bengali. We have another edition was 1 xil (April 1818 to March 1810) published only in Bengali. But it is the two edition ware issued simultaneously from the sy beginning of its publication.

The date given by Dinesh Chandra Sen (History p. 877) as February 1818 is incorrect See quotation from Marshman s letter at p 338 posts (footnote). The first number with the date April 1819 may be seen in the Skhitra Parigal Library (Of the Limits of Hindoosthan), হিনুহানেৰ বাণিজ্য (Of the Trade of Hindoosthan), বনুন বাবা সাদেবৰ সাহেবেৰ আকাশ গান (Mi Sadler's Journey in a Balloon from Dublin to Holyhead) বিহুবিধুস প্রতি বিব্রে (Of Mount Vesuvius) It will be seen that it was eminently fit to be a "Youth's Magazine," and the nature of the themes as well as the manner of expression was varied and novel enough to make it attractive. There were interesting scientific papers on the compass, the metals, the steamboat, botany of India, etc, historical accounts of ancient and modern nations, sketches, narratives of travel, notices of England and other countries, and a few essays on the commerce and productions of India, all treated in a popular and easy way. The following selection will serve for a specimen

# বঙ্গভূমিব মহাগ্রভিক্ষ

বঙ্গভূমিব প্রবান উৎপন্ন বস্ত ধান্ত, তাহাব অনেক অন্ত অন্ত দেশে প্রেরিত কবা যায়, দৈবাৎ কথন কথন ফগল না জনিলে ছর্ভিক্ষ হয় এইরূপ দৃর্ভিক্ষ বঙ্গভূমিতে ও হিন্দুস্থানেব অন্ত অন্ত ভাগে কথন কথন হইয়াছিল দল ১৭৭০ দালে বাঙ্গালা দেশে এইনপ অতি ঘোব ছর্ভিক্ষ হইয়াছিল, তৎকালে নবাব ও অন্তান্ত ভাগ্যবান্ লোকেবা দবিদ্র লোকেবদেব মধ্যে আনেক তত্ত্বল দান কবিবাছিলেন, কিন্তু শেষে তাঁহাবদেব ভাজাব শৃত্ত হত্তর্য়াতে দান নির্ভ হইল ইহাতে অনেক ছঃথি লোক জীবনোপায় প্রত্যাশাতে তৎকালীন ইংগ্লজীরেবদেব প্রধান বসতি স্থান কলিকাতার আইল কিন্তু তথন কোম্পানীর ভাজাবে দ্রবাভাব প্রত্তুক্ত তাহাবদেব কোন উপায় হইল না ইহাতে সেই ছর্ভিক্ষাবন্তের গই সপ্তাহ পরে সহত্র লোক বাজপথে ও মাঠে স্থানে প্রভিন্না মবিল এবং কুকুব ও শকুনিল্লাবা ঐ সকল মৃতশ্বীর ছিন্নভিন্ন হত্ত্র্যাতে বাবু অনিষ্টকাবী হইল, তাহাতে সকলেব ভন্ন জনিল এই ছর্ভিক্ষেব পশ্চাৎ মহামাবী আদিতেছে কোম্পানীব প্রেবিত এক শত লোক নির্ত্ত ছিল, তাহাবা ভূলি ও ঝোড়ান্বাবা ঐ সকল মৃত শবীর

নধীতে দেনিত তৎপ্রাবৃক্ত নধীর মাল এমত পথেতে পুরিলাবে ভাষার মংসা অধাচ চইল, এবং অনেক মংসভোৱী তংকপাং মবিল

তংসমৰে আগষ্ট বালে অভিনূব আকাৰে একটা ভৱানক কুৰ্বকণৰৰ্থন হুট্ল: তাহাৰ বৰ্ণ কুকুমেবেল **ভাৱ সে কণ্**ন কখন ব্যাকে নাচ্চাদিত করিল এবং কলিকাঠার উপরি ভাগে থনেক দুরপর্যন্ত ব্যাপ্ত হুইল ৰে বিন ঋিণুৰ জীম সেই বিন্ধী মেখনীচে দুই চুইণ ভাগতে তিন দিন পর্যাস্থ লোকেরদের অনে হ তাবনা অন্মিল 🛮 তৃতীর দিবণে নেখারম্ভ ও মতিশঃ গ্রীয় হুইলে ঐ কুফা মের এত নীচে আইন বে গ্রুল এন্তর্প দুর্লন ক্রিতে পাইল, তবন বিশেবত্রণে আনা গেল যে দংশকীটের মত বড়পত স্বতৰৰ্ণ শ্ৰীর ও মতক ও চকু বড় ও মধুমকিক।এ মত শ্রেণীবছ উভিবার স্ববে অভিবাদ রেশার প্রার কিছ ভারাহহৈতে লোকেরদের এমত ভার হটল বে কের ভারার একটাকেও ব্রিল না সাইজিৰ স্বৰ্ণাত সূতি সংকাশীন বৰণে একৱানে নিভিত জগে রহিল পরে চারিহও উর্চে উরিল এবং কিছিৎকাল পরে তত নামিল পরে বারু কোণ•ইতে একটা বারু উত্তিরা চুট দিন পর্যান্ত খাকিল ঐ বাহুনতে পূর্ব্যত উট্টিন ও নামিল কিন্তু অধিক শীখ্রুপে তাহার প্রদিবস অভিপ্রভাবে আকাশ শুক্ত দেখা সেল । এই নেখবর্ণন হওনের পূৰ্ব্য কতক্ষিণ ক্ৰেক ও কীটাদি মাজিকালে এইপতন সময়ে অবিগ্ৰত শ্ব করিয়াটিল ভাষারা এককালে এমন অনুক্ত হুইল বে নহী ভিত্র আর কোনধানে তাহারা ধেবা গেল না ও ওনা গেল না

এই ছডিন লগাতাবপ্ৰস্কুত হইখাছিল ব্যৱস্থাত ছই কলল লগে এক কলল ক্ষুণত ও অন্ত নহাখনৰ বাছাদি কিছু ১৭৬১ লালে লগাভাবপ্ৰস্কুক মহাক্ৰণৰ বাছাদি ৰাখিব লা এবং বল ১৭৭ সালেও ক্ষুক্ষ কলল পৰিব লা ইংডেই পুনিবিধিত ছবলা উপাধিত হইখাছিল

এই চৰ্ভিক কথাপি বস্তৃথিত গোকেরণের মন হুইতে স্থা হয় নাই এবং অনেক বুছলোকেরা আপনারণের বৌৰনকাণীন ক্রিয়ার সময় সেই চুৰ্ভিক বংসর হারা গ্রনা করেন <sup>1</sup>

Digdarian April 1820 pp. 167 173; the English translation is omitted.

This useful paper, however, lasted only for three years (1818-1821)<sup>1</sup>, but it became very popular and successful for a new venture, and its success emboldened the missionaires to launch upon the more perilous task of starting a newspaper in Bengah. A quarter or more of

Samāchār darpan or the Mirror of News 23rd May, Saturday, 1818 a century's intolerance on the part of the government had made the missionaries diffident, but their cageiness to open a new avenue to

the thoughts of the nation made them overcome all scrupules, more specially because the *Bengal Gazette* (1816-1818)<sup>2</sup> the only paper in Bengah hitherto published, was now dead, and its place required to be

History of its publication

filled up Nothing could keep back the indefatigable missionaries but they took every precaution against

imperilling the safety of their mission. Consequently, before the actual publication of the paper, they issued prospectus and advertisements in the local papers about the proposed journal so that objections, if any, from official and other quarters would be taken beforehand. Then on the critical night before the publication, the first proof of the first number was laid before the assembled brother-hood at their weekly meeting on Friday evening. Dr. Carey, whom long experience had taught to be more cautious mentioned his fears about the Mission, but he

I have been able to trace the following numbers (in the Sähitya Pariant Library), April 1818 to March 1919, Nos 1 xii, January 1820 to April 1820, Nos xiii xvi, May 1820 to February 1821, Nos xvii to xvvi It seems only 26 numbers were published. The Catalogue of E I Company's Library (1845) (p 267) enters Digdarsan only for April 1818 to February 1821

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Long says (Return of Names and Writings, etc.) that the Bengal Gazette was published for a year. But unfortunately file of this paper is not available any where

consented to its publication when Visishman promised to send a copy with an analysis of its contents in English." to Government, and to stop the enterprise if it should be officially disapproved. Lord Hastings was fighting

Long (Catalogue) calls the paper Sermapors Darpan and in the zillith of the Calcutt Review (1830) in the article on Bengall Literature he calls it the Darpan of Sermapore. Of course this might be an abbreviated way of speaking but accurately put it must bear the name of Semāchā Darpan The narrative of the publication of Digdarian as well as of this paper is thus given by J C Marshman:

"It appeared (in 1818) that the time was

History of its publication as given in a letter of Marsh man's. "It appeared (in 1818) that the time was ripe for a native n paper and I offered the missionaries to undertake the publication of it. The jealousy which the Government had always manifested of the pariodical press

appeared, h as er to passe t serious obstacle. The English journals in Calcutta were under the strictest surrolliance and many a column appeared resplendent with the stars which were substituted at the last moment for the editorial remarks and through which the censor had drawn his fatal pen. In this state of things it was difficult to suppose that a native paper would be tolerated for a moment. It was resolved therefore to feel the official pulse by starting a monthly magazine | the first instance and the Digdarshou appeared in April 1818. It was composed of historical and other notices, likely from their novelty to excite the attention of the natives and to sharpen their curiosity. In the last page, in a smaller type some few items of political intelligence were inserted. Two numbers were published, and copies were sent to the principal members of Government (including the Censur) and the fact of the publication was widely ofroulated by advertisement in all the English papers of Calcutte. As no objection appeared to be take to the publication of the magazine by the censor though it contained news, it was resolved at once to lanach the weekly maner and call it by the name given to the earliest English news-letter the Mirror of News or Samachar Darpan, But Dr Carey who had been labouring fifteen years in India during the period when the opposition to missionary efforts and calightenment of the natives was in full vigour was unfavourable to the publication of the J urnal because h feared it would give umbrage in official circles and weaken th good understanding which had been gradually g wing up between the missionaries and the government, H strenuously advised that

the Pindaris, and nothing was said by his Council On his return, the Governor-General wrote to the Editor

Encouragement of entire approval of the paper and declaring that "the effect of such a

paper must be extensively and importantly useful." He even induced his Council to allow it to circulate by post at one-fourth the then heavy rate, thus giving a fresh impetus to the native new-paper press. It became popular

the idea of it should be dropped, but he was over ruled by his two colleagues, Dr Marshman and Dr Ward. When the prospectus was brought up for final examination at the weekly incoting of the mis sionaries the evening before the day of publication, he renewed his objection to the undertaking on the grounds he had stated Dr Marshman then offered to proceed to Calcutta the next morning and submit the first number of the new Gazette, together with a rough translation of the articles, to Mr Edmonstone, then Vice-President, and to the Chief Secretary (John Adam), and he promised that it should be discontinued if they raised any objection to it great delight he found both of them favourable to the undertaking At the same time he transmitted a copy of the paper to Lord Hastings, then in the North Western Provinces, and was happy to receive a reply in his own hand highly commending the project of endeavouring to excite and gratify a spirit of enquiry in the native mind by means of And thus the journal was established A copy of it was sent with a subscription book to all the great baboos in Calcutta, and the first namo entered on the list was that of Dwarkanath On the return of Lord Hastings the dency, he endeavoured to encourage the undertaking by allowing the journal to circulate through the country at one fourth the usual charge of postage which at that time was extravagantly high" (Extract of a Letter from J C Marshman to Dr George Smith published in the latter's Twelve Indian Statesmen 1898, pp 230 33 The same account is to be found in J C Marshman, Life and Times of Carey, etc., vol ii, p 161 seq) Also see Cal Rev 1907, vol cxxiv, p 391 93

<sup>1</sup> For the postage-rates, see Seton-Karr, op cit, vol iv (1868), p 51, etc Government also encouraged the paper by subscribing to a hundred copies during 1820 1828.

at once, and as it avoided all religious controvers, to the earlier issues, it was welcomed even by the most orthodox among the Hindos. The name of Dyarakaonth Thikum headed the list of subscribers and its loog life of 98 years in spite of later oppositious and recisaitades till 1851 sufficiently indicates its power efficiency and popularity as the leading and for some time the only paper

of the day To the Darpan at is and popularity the means of bringing the oppression of their own countrymeo to the knowledge of the public and the authorities Government too found it useful for contradicing romoors and promoting contentment if not lovalty t

The first number of the Samāckār Darpan was published on Satorday May 23 1818 (১ हेटेबाई जन ১२२६)?

Smith, op 1 p. 204

The earlier files of the paper had long become very scarce and this fact has given rise to various erroneous views about the date of its first publication. A file of this paper from its origin (May 23, 1618 to July 14 1821) will be found in the Library of the Sthitva Pariet Even Marshman bimself in his two books (Husters of Serempore Missio vol II, p. 163, and History of Be gal 1859 p. 251) ga e the dates erroneously as May 31 Sunday 1818, and May 29 Friday 1818 respectively Dinesh Obsudra Sen in following Marshman, has fallen into the same error in his History Long (Descriptive C to logue, 1855, p 66) gives August 23, Friday 1818. The most obvious mistake is that made by Rajnardyan Basu who in his discourse on Bengali Language and Literature dates the paper from 1816, and the Calcutta Christian Observer (Feb., 1840) is equally mistaken in taking 1819 as the date of the first publication of this paper. I have been able to get access to the following files of the paper (a) from May 23 1818 to July 14, 1821 (Sahitya Puriet Library) (b) from 1831 to 1837 (Imperial Library Calcutta) (c) From 1851 to 185. (Bengal Asiatic Bociety a Library) I have given an ecount of these files in an articl in the Sikitya Perseat Pet eld vol. 24 pp. 149-1 O.

and from the seventh number it bore on its front the following motto

দৰ্পণে মুগমৌনগামিব কাৰ্যাবিচক্ষণাঃ। বুত্ৰাস্তমিহ ভাষস্ত সনাচাৰস্য দৰ্শণ।।

Marshman tells us that the paper was so baptized because the name (Mirioi of News) was associated

Its claim to be regarded as the first Bengal newspaper, that credit belongs to the Bengal Gazette (1816-1818) of Gaiga dhar Bhattacharya

(Mirror of News) was associated with the earliest English newsletter. But its claim to be regarded as the earliest Bengali newspaper is not, inspite of current and popular opinion, may justifiable, for the first Bengali newspaper was

not the Samāchār Darpan but the Bengal Gazette The latter journal, now scarce, was published for the first time in 1816 by one Gaugādhar<sup>3</sup> Bhattāchārya of whom little, however, is known. This paper lasted for two years, having been extinguished in 1818 <sup>4</sup> But though not the first newspaper in Bengali, Samāchār Darpan practically laid the foundation of vernacular journalism in Bengali by directing the attention and energy of the Bengali people to a neglected literary field which now

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See extract from G Smith, Tirelic English Statesmen, quoted at p 233 foot note

It has been so called by many an eminent writer, eg, J C Marshman, History of Sciampore Mission, vol 11,1p 163, and History of Bengal, p 251, Long, Cal Rev, 1850, vol x11, p 145 (but not in the Catalogue where he has corrected the mistake), Friend of India, Sept 19, 1850, Smith, Life of Carcy, p 204, Dinesh Ch Sen, History of Bengal: Language and Literature (1911), p 877, etc

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> He must not however be confounded with Gangaksior Bhattacharya

Long's Descriptive Catalogue, also his Return, etc already cited, But in the Return, etc, it is said to have continued for one year only But see Sāhitya Pariệat Patrikā, vol v, pp 248 250, Cal Rev 1907, p 293 We learn from Rājnāiāyan Basu (Bāngālā Bhāṣā O Sāhitya Biṣayak Bakrtā, p 59) that Gangādhar was well-known as the pub lisher of illustrated editions of Annadāmangal, etc

so much engages their activity and affords so many opportunities for henefiting the country

Although conducted chiefly by the missionaries it was never wholly a missionary paper. Correspondence from various parts of the country-for it had a very large circulation over 360 stations in the countrynseful articles on scientific, political

Nature of its articles. bustorical and geographical topics ! adorned its engerly read pages It recorded all the interesting contemporary incidents political and administrative and we have short articles on the fight with the Pindaris, on the conflict with Holkar Sindhea and other Indian powers on the last stage in the war between England and France (including many refer ences to Napoleon Bonaparte) an account of the Mogul Emperor and of Raja Ranut Sing and essays on other interesting tomes Bondes these, there were descriptions reviews and advertisements of new publications educational news (like the proceedings of the School Book Society and the School Society and the establishment of a college at Srirampur) various social topics (like the description of Sraddha ceremony of GopImohan Thakur) market reports reports on stocks and shares and on exports and imports civil appointments programmes of the Governor-General tour commercial and intelligence sensational news (burning fatalities decoity murder earthquake storm, rath jatra ceremony at Mahes) and references to the filthy condition of (alcutta roads and other local complaints Although chiefly a newspaper it published from time to

For a abort list of these articles, See Sahitys Parighat Patrill, already cited, vol v p. 257 Also my paper in vol. xxiii of the same. For a note on Early Christian Periodicals, see Appendix IV at the end of this volume.

time various useful articles, short moral tales and humorous sketches. Religious controversy was introduced later on and through this it came into collision, with Rām Mohan. Rāv and his party who started the Samhād Kaumudī within a year (1819) as well as with orthodox papers, like Samhād Timira Nāšak. The scope and object of Samārhār Darpan was thus set forth at the outset.

### সমাচাবদর্পণ।

ক্ষেক মাস ইইল শ্রীবাসপুবেব [ছা]পাথানা ইইতে এক শুদ্র পুত্তক প্রিকা প্রিকা ইইয়াছিল ও সেই পুত্তক [না]স হ ছাপাইবাব করওছিল তা[হা]র অভিপ্রায় এই যে এতদেশীয় [লো]কেবদের নিকটে সকল প্রকাব [বি]ছা প্রকাশ হয় কিছু সে পুত্তকে [সক]লেব সম্মতি হইল না এই [কাবণ] খিদ সে পুত্তক নাস হ ছাপা [হইত] তবে কাহাবো উপকাব [হইত] না অতএব তাহাব পবী[বর্ত্তে] এই সমাচাবেব পত্র ছা[পা] আবস্ত কবা গিয়াছে। [ইহাব] নাম সমাচার দর্পণ।

[এই স]মাচাবেব পত্র প্রতি সপ্তাহে ছাপা থাইবে তাহাব মধ্যে [এই এই স]মাচাব দেওয়া থাইবে।

[১ এতদেশৌব জন্ধ ও কলেক্তব [ ]ব ও অগ্য বাজকর্মাধা[ক্ষেব-দেব] নিরোগ।

[২ শ্রীশ্রীয়]ত বড সাহেব যে২ [ন্তন আঠ]ন ও হকুম প্রভৃতি [প্রকাশ কবিবে]ন।

[৩ ইংগ্রন্ড] ও ইউবোপের অহা ২ [প্রদেশ হইতে] যে যে নৃতন নমাচাব [আইনে এবং] এই দেশের নানা [সমাচাব]।

[৪ বাণিজ্যাদি]ব নৃতন বিবৰণ।

৫ লোকেবদের জন্ম ও বিবাহ ও মরণ প্রভৃতি ক্রিশ্ন।

This was Digdarsan

- ৬ ইউ নাপদনীর লোক কর্ত্ত বে ২ নৃত্য স্টে হইরাছে সেই দকল পুঞ্চ হঠৈও ছাপান হাইবে এবং বে ২ নৃত্য পুঞ্চ মাদে ২ ইয়েও হইতে আইগে সেই সকল পুঞ্চ বে ২ নৃত্য পিল ও কন আনুতিয় বিবরণ থাকে ভাহাও ছাপান হাইবে।
- ৭ এবং ভারতবর্ধের আঁচান ইতিহাস ও বিদ্যাও জ্ঞানবান শোক ও পুরুক অঞ্চির বিষয়ণ।

এই স্থাতারের পর প্রতি শনিবারে প্রাত্যকালে সর্বত্র রেওরা
বাইবে তাহার বৃদ্য প্রতি মাসে দেড় টাকা। প্রথম ছই সপ্তাহের
ব্যাতারের শর বিনাগুলা বেওরা হইবে। ইহাতে বে লোকের বাবনা
হইবেক তিনি আগন নাম শ্রীরামগুলের ছাগাবানাতে পাঠাইলে প্রতি
স্থাতে তাহার নিকটে পাঠান যাইবে।

Space forbids us to make quotations from the longer articles but we select here a few short specimens relating to a variety of topics

#### "ભાનાનાઇ ા

মোং সেত্ৰ ংগিনা ইবৈত ও আগতের সমাচার আনিবাহে তাহাতে লানা সেত্র বে বেগানকার অভাকেরা বোনাগাটকে আরও সূচ্বপে বাধিবার চেটা করিকেছে বে বেনাগতিরদের বিধাবে তিনি ছিলেন তাহারবিগকে অকমাং বিলাতে গাঁঠাইরা তাঁচাকে পুনর্জার বে নৃজন নেনাগতিরদের বিধাব করিছাছিল তাহারবের স্বীবর্ত করিরা সুনর্জার নৃতন সেনাগতিরদের বিধাবে তাহাকে রাধিবাছে ইহার হেতু আমরা এত দূরে থাকিরা বানিকে গাঁই।" (ব্যালাগুরারী ১৮১৯) ব শেশোব ১২২২)।

#### ঁকলিকাতার ন্রল্পা।

ক্লিকাতা শগবেষ ব্ৰথণাবিতে বে সকল সাহেবের। নিৰ্ক্ষ আছেন তাহারা অধ্যান করিবাছেন বে ক্লিকাডার অনেক অনেক প্রভার নবদায়া আছে তাহাতে আন্ত কোন ত্রয়ে পড়িল ভাষা পচিলা অতাত্র চর্গচ নির্পত হর ভাষাতে শোকেরবের সকত বেগ্য ক্ষেয়। অভাত্রে সে দকল নবদামা বন্দ কবিয়া কিঞ্চিৎ গভীব নবদামা কবা যাউক।" ইত্যাদি (২৭শে মে, ১৮২০। ১৫ই জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১২২৭)।

### "বেদান্ত মত।

নই মে ববিবাব শ্রীয়ত বাধাচবণ মজুমদাবেব পুত্র শ্রীক্রঞ্চমোহন ও শ্রীব্রজনোহন মজুমদাবেব খবে শ্রীয়ত বামমোহন বায় প্রভৃতি সকল বৈদান্তিকো একএ হইলেন এবং পবস্পব আপনাবদেব মতেব বিবেচনা কবিলেন। আমবা শুনিয়াছি যে সেই সভাতে জ্রাতিব প্রতিবিধি কিধা নিষেধ বিষয়ে বিচাব হইল এবং খাখেব প্রতি যে নিষেধ আছে তাহারও বিষয়ে বিচাব হইল। এবং যুবতি স্ত্রীর মবণানন্তব সহমবণ না কবিষা কেবল ব্রশ্লচর্য্যে কালক্ষেপ কর্ত্তব্য এই বিষয়েও অনেক বিবেচনা হইল এবং বৈদিক্যর্শ্যেব বিষয়ে বিচাব হইল সেই সন্থে বেদের উপনিষদ হইতে আপনাবদেব মতানুষায়ি বাক্য পড়া গেল ও তাহার অর্থ করা গেল ও তাঁহাবা বেদান্তেব মতানুষারে গীত গাইলেন।" (২২শে মে, ১৮১৯। ১০ই জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১২২৬।

## "স্কুলবুক সোসম্বিটী।

১১ আক্টোবৰ ব্ধবাবে কলিকাতাৰ স্থলবৃক সোমন্ধিটীৰ তৃতীয় বংসবীন্ন মিসিল হইন্নাছে এবং ঐ সোমন্নিটী অতি প্ৰন্দবন্ধপ চলিতেছে। ঐ সোমন্নিটীৰ অতঃপাতি লোকেবা নৃতন হ প্ৰকাৰ পুন্তক প্ৰস্তুত কৰেন ও ৰাঙ্গালা পাঠশালাতে বিতৰণ করেন। তাহাতে লক্ষ্মণোরের নবাব সাহেব কোম্পানিব উকীল সাহেব দ্বাবা স্থলবৃক সোমন্নিটীৰ ব্যৱেব কাবল এক হাজাৰ টাকা কলিকাতা পাঠাইন্না দিন্নাছেন। শ্রীযুত মন্তেগু সাহেব ও শ্রীযুত তাবিনীচবল মিএজাৰ কথাক্রমে মৃত্যুক্তর বিত্যালঙ্কাবেব প্র্ শ্রীযুত বামজন্ন তর্কালঙ্কাব ঐ সোমন্নিটীৰ কোমিটীতে আপন পিতাৰ ভাব পাইন্নাছেন এবং শ্রীযুত বাবু উমানন্দ ঠাকুবও ঐ সোমনিটীৰ অন্তঃপাতী হইন্নাছেন এবং মৌলবী কবীম হোসেন শ্রীযুক্ত লেপ্তোনস্ত ব্রাইন সাহেব ও কাজী আবছল হমিদেৰ কথাক্রমে পুনর্কাব ঐ সোমনিটীৰ অন্তঃপাতী হইন্নাছেন।" (২)শে অক্টোবৰ, ১৮২০। ৬ই কার্তিক, ১২২৭)।

#### "तान पुष्रकः।

चैरुर मिनिया त्वदि शाहर हे शेष (मत) भूपक हहेत्त मध्यह কৰিয়া িছাৰাল্যী নামে এক নুজন পশুক বালালি ভাৰাছ কৰিয়া त्याः श्रीवामण्यः हाना वृद्धिः छन् हेरास्य नामा व्यवस्य हिनाह वृत्रा चाहि के द्वारव मान मानेनिय दिया हामात पर्व करावार काराबाउ धर अधारा मात्र व हाल ६रेएक। धे यावेडीत किंचा हामाह मर्लाउ कर सबद ए दश दहितक के कर र सबदबब मूल हुई र हिका।" ( ११दे यन १४०३। ०१ए देवाह १११५ )।

#### देशकिए शक्त ।

এক সমাৰ আল কেশেৰ বাদশাল বোমেৰ প্ৰাণান পৰাগাতেৰ নিকট द्धक दुरा भूक्यक व्यापन क्रिकेश करिया भारतिहरूका । देकील महाशास्त्रव নিকটে পিলা বাকাং কৰিল ও বলেপত্তক শানে ধৰিল। ঐ প্রতাকী ধর্মাধাক জোংপুর্কক বৃশ উচ্চীলক করিলেন যে ে (১)র বাছলার কি श्रामात नहिंछ केल्डान करवन तनद शाहान नाको केलं माहे ध्याक বালককে আমাৰ নিকটে পাঠাইছাছেন। ইয়া ভুমিলা উত্তীয় উত্তৰ কৰিল যে বলি আমাৰ বাল্লাল ভানিখেন যে প্ৰান ও বিলা সকলি দাড়ীয় मान चाहि कर यक हारत्य नाहारेत्वर देनदक बहेता हैवाइ श्रदीशक कायतिक पृष्टे ६देशन १° (२५८५ खर्जिन ५৮२५)।

With regard to the subsequent hi tory of the paper we do not Let any complete information. Long states that its existence was limited to It a beens at history 21 years from the date of publica tion1 in other words it ecosed to exist in 1850 Mahendranath Bids Findly in an article in the Sakilga Paried Latrika states that it continued till 1851 both these views are not correct. From the files of the paper in the Calcutta Imperial Library (from 1851 to

Long Return f Name and Writings to 18-5 p 147 Vol. v (1305) p 250

1837) and in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library (from May 3, 1851 to April 24, 1852), we get clear evidence of its existence till April 24, 1852 and of the fact that there was no breach in its publication from 1831 to 1837. We also gather from an article in the Calcutta Christian Observer (1840) that it did not cease even till 1840. In December 25, 1841 the Samāchār Darpan disappeared for some time but it was re-born again in 1851 because on the file of May 3, 1851 we find the numbering of the new series at "vol I no 1" ( > वाला । > नःथा). On the first page also of this new series we get this editorial note

## "भगांठावमर्शराव नगकांव।

পাঠক মহাশবেবদেব সমীপে প্রাচীন দর্পণের নানে ও আকাব প্রকাবে উপস্থিত হওয়াতে ভবসা কবি অনেক পাঠক মহাশয় আমাব-দিগকে বহুকালীন বৃদ্ধ বন্ধু স্বন্ধপ দর্শন করিয়া গ্রহণ কবিবেন। যখন ১৮৪১ সালেব ২৫ ডিসেম্বর তাবিথে দর্পণের অদর্শন হইল তখন পুনরুদ্ধ হওনের প্রত্যাশা ছিল না পরস্ত দেখুন পুনরুখিত হইলাম। এই দর্পণের নাম ও বেশ বৃদ্ধ প্রবীণের, সাহস ও শক্তি নবীনের।" ইত্যাদি (১ বালম। ১ সংখ্যা। তবা মে, শনিবার, ১৮৫১। ২১শে বৈশাথ, ১২৫৮ সাল)।

From 1831 to 1837, the paper was bilingual, being written both in Bengali and English in parallel columns. After its resurrection in 1851 it continued bilingual.<sup>2</sup>

But there is no evidence to indicate from what precise

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> February 1840, pp 65 66

This is confirmed by the entry in the Appendix to the Tenth Memour published from Srīrāmpur (dated July 4, 1832) where the paper is described as written in "Bengali and English, in parallel columns" and published every Wednesday and Saturday morning. We are told in the above article in the Patrikā (vol. v., p. 255) that the bilingual state began in 1829. This is quite probable, though neevidence is mentioned to support the view. It is also probable as stated there that for a time, Persian found a place in it

date it first became bilingual. From the above article in the Christian Observer we learn that it was written in English and in Bengali even till 1840. It would seem therefore that it continued in this state till its constant in 1841.

As to whether the paper had an unbroken existence from 1818 to 1831, we can determine this from indirect evidence. On every issue of 1831 and 1832 we have the numbering as volumes xiii and xiv respectively. Its first publication was in 1818 so that till 1831 we naturally expect 13 volumes to have been published assuming its continued existence till that date, and this is confirmed by the numbering quoted. From this the conclusion is inevitable that from 1818 to 1831 (or rather to 1840) it had a continuous existence although unfortunately we have got no file preceived from 18-1 to 1831.

In 1851 it was published on every Saturday as the head note Serampore Published every Saturday morning indicates From 1816 to 1831 therefore it was a weekly paper published every Saturday morning. From 1852 it became in weekly as the head note on the files of that year show— Published every Wednesdry and Saturday morning. But from November 15 1832 it became day morning. But from November 15 1832 it became Saturday weekly again and probably continued so till April 24 1837 After 1851 it was still a weekly paper.

In 1818 its editor was J C Marshman and he probably continued in that office till 1834; for in the issue of November 15 1834 we find this remark

'চন্দ্রিকান । । ঘক মহানর ঘর্শনৈর বিধনে যে অযুগ্রাহ প্রকাশক উল্লি নিবিবাছেন ভাষাতে আনগ্রা বিশেষ বাষ্ট্য হুইলান ভাষার ঐ উল্লি ছুপ্টনকপারে ভপ্রকাশিত হুইল। কিন্তু আক বিধনে ভাষার কিন্তিও ব্রম নাজে চিনি নিধিবাছেন ছুপ্র শত্র প্রথমত শুভাকার কেয়ী নাছেব কর্ত্ব প্রকাশিত হয় ইহা প্রকৃত নহে দর্পণেব এট ক্ষণকাব সম্পাদক ষে ব্যক্তি কেবল নেই ব্যক্তিব ঝুঁকিতেট বোল বংসবেবও অধিক হটল অর্থাৎ দর্পণেব আবস্ভাবধি এই পর্যান্ত প্রকাশ হট্য়া আসিতেছে।" From 1857 Townsend, editor of the Friend of India probably conducted this paper for in the file of that year (May 3, towards the end of no 1), we find this entry শ্রীবামপুবেব ব্যালয়ে শ্রীটোন্দেও সাক্ষেব কর্তৃক প্রকাশিত। Moreover, a correspondent of the paper writes in May 10, 1851

"সেলাম প্র:সব নিবেদন্দিং গ্রর্গমেন্ট গ্রেন্ডেট পাঠ ক্রিয়া আনাবদিগের বহুকালের শোক নিবারণ হইল যেহেতুক সত্যপ্রদীপের প্রিবর্ডে পুন্রায় সনাচারদর্পণ প্রকাশ ১ইতে লাগিল" ইত্যাদি।

This Satya Pradipa was a weekly paper edited by Townsend It was published in 1850<sup>1</sup> but it did not continue for more than a year, having ceased in 1851<sup>2</sup> Probably after its cessation, Townsend took up the editorship of Samāchār Daipan.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Long, Return relating to Bengali Publication, 1859, p xl

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Long, Return of Names and Writings, 1855, p 141

In the Journal of Bengal Academy of Literature (vol 1, no 6, Jan 6, 1898) it is said that Bhabānīcharan Banerji was editor of Samāchār Darpan foi some time. This is very unlikely, considering the facts that from 1822. Bhabānī was conducting Samāchār Chandrikā and that there was enough antagonism of policy and views between Chandrikā and Darpan.

#### LATER LABORRAY WRITERS

In the substation of the periodicals described in the last chapter it will be seen that the most active part was taken by the two Marshmans, father and son. The labours of Dr. Joshua Marshman to whom indeed

was due the con oblation of the Mission were too varied and wide-aprend to be confined chiefly to the study and encouragement of Bengali I His son John Clark Marshman who was born in August 1794 inherited in a large measure all his literary

predilections, his great capacity for

John Clark Marshman 1794-1877

work as well as his unflagging philanthropic zeal From 1812 he began to direct his father's religious undertakings and entered with zeal into all the labours of the mission. His reputation as a European scholar in Bengali secured for him the post of Translator in Bengali to Government, and his

numerous Bengali works fully maintain this reputation He returned to England in 1853 and died at Redeliffe Square, North Kensington London July 8 1877

Ohronologically speaking the E ropens writers f Bengall of whom enumeration follows below do not properly belong to this period on the period of the period as a short 1825 and a distinctly new morement becomes dominant thereafter. The literary labours of the missionaries lose their importance and occupy only a subsidiary place in that morament after 1825. They are mentioned here in order to keep up continuity of treatment.

For more details, See A axal Register 1877 p. 154; Times July 10, 1877; Joann. R. A. Soc. 1878 vol. x Ann. Rep. pp. xx-xii; J C Maishman was indeed a versatile and voluminous writer, both in English and Bengali, and it is not possible to give here a complete list of his works. The following are the more important works in Bengali due to him or ascribed to him.

- (1) ভাবতবর্ধেব ইতিহাদ। ভার্যাৎ কোম্পানি বাহাছবেব সংস্থাপনাব্ধি মাকু ইশ হেষ্টিংসেব বাজ্যশাসনেব শেষ বংসব পর্যাপ্ত ইংলজীরেবনেব কৃত তাবিববন। ২ বালম। শ্রীবাসপুর। ১৮৩১। or History of India from the Settlement of the E I Company down to the Conquest of the Pundaris by the Marquis of Hastings in 1819 2 vols Serampore 1831 (Also translated from English by Gopāl Lāl Mitra, Calcutta 1840)
- (2) বাঙ্গালাৰ ইতিহাস or History of Bengal from the Accession of Suraj-ad-Daulah to the Administration of Lord William Bentinck translated from the English of J C Marshman <sup>1</sup> Calcutta 1848
- (3) পুৰাবৃত্তেৰ সংক্ষেপ বিৰবণ। অৰ্থাৎ পৃথিৱীৰ স্থ টি অৰ্থি খৃষ্টীগ্নান শকেৰ আৰম্ভ পৰ্যান্ত। শ্ৰীবানপুৰ। ১৮৩৩। or Brief Survey of History in Bengalee from the Creation to the Christian era Calcutta 1862. (Also called ইতিবৃত্তধাৰ)
- (4) দেওয়ানি আইনেব সংগ্রহ। অর্থাৎ যে সকল আইন ও আইনেব অর্থ সকুলব অর্ডব প্রভৃতি ইংবাজী ১৭৯৩ সাল লাং ১৮৩৪ দাল হইয়াছে তাহা। শ্রীবৃত জান মার্শমান দাহেব কর্তৃক

It lustrated London News, 1877, Law Times, 1877, Dictionary of National Biography (a good list of his English works will be found here) Also Dictionary of British and American Authors, Gentleman's Magazine, 1838, pt 11, p 216

¹ Also translated by Wenger (2nd Edition, 1859) named প্রাপ্ত।

সংগ্ৰিত। উন্নাশ্য ১৮০৪) or a Translation of J C Marshman's Guide to the Civil Law in the Presidence of Fort William containing all the unrepealed regulations acts and circular orders of Government and summary reports of the Sudder Courts from 1703 to 1843 in 2 vols 1845 (2nd Ed Serampore 1849) 1

- (5)? carifes a calculate or a Treatise on Astronomy and Geography translated into Bengalee 2 2nd Edition Seramoore 1819
- (৪) শাৰোগায় কর্মনার্শক প্রয় or a Translation of J C Marshman's Darogab's Manual comprising the duties of the landholders in connexion with the police Serampore, 1851
- (7) সন্তাৰ ও বীৰ্ষায় ইতিহাস। সকল নোকের হিতাবে বালালা ভারার ওর্জনা করা লোল। ঠাহার একদিলে ইক্রাকী একদিলে বালালা। বীর্থিপুর। ১৮২৯। or Anecdotes of Virtue and Valour translated into Bengalee and printed with the English and Bengalee Versions on opposite pages in two parts Serampore Press. 1879

A specimen of its legal language is given here. It will be seen that the language. Ithough peralunised is yet more easy and natural than the stiff and technical legal diction of the beginning of the contury.

অনিহাত ও তানুকৰাত ভূমাৰিকাটী ও ইথানাৰাত এক্তিত সাধ্য আছে বে তাহানিকৈত্ৰ কাহাৰ পাল্ডভাটি বাকী হাতবা কোন ধক বল তানুকহাৰ এইতে নাকুটিত উপত্ৰ আহিলে বাই লোকী টাকা মান কোন করবেছ হাতা আহাছ ক্ষিতে না গানেল কৰে সেই বাকীয়াই অবহা ভাষাই নাকছানিখনে হামে সেই বাকী তল্প ক্ষিতে অবহা সেই বাকীয়াই নাবছানিশ পানাইতে ইয়াত হইলে ভাষাকৈ ক্ষেত্ৰ হা কৰিছা বাকান্ত্ৰান্ত্ৰ বাকীয়াই বাবছানিশ পানাইতে ইয়াত হইলে ভাষাকৈ ক্ষেত্ৰ হাতি বাকান্ত্ৰান্ত্ৰ বাকীয়াই বাকান্ত্ৰিখনে মীজের নিকিতনতে কল্পে ক্ষিত্ৰ গানেল। ইতাহিল—পেচা গ্ৰেন্ত ১৯০। কি—পেচা গ্ৰেন্ত ১৯০। কি

Published anonymously

- (৪) ক্ষেত্রবাগান বিববণ অর্থাৎ আগ্রিকলচবাল ও হটিকলচবাল নোসাইটিব নিষ্পাত কার্যোব বিববণ পুত্তক or Agri-Horticultural transactions by J Maishman in two volumes 1832-36
  - (9) Abridgement of Carey's Dictionary 1

It will be noticed from the above enumeration, that some of these works hardly put forward any claim to literary ment whatsoever, as they are composed

and then literary on strictly non-literary subjects, while worth the historical treatises, more or less closely allied to literature pure or proper, are again mere translations of replieas of English originals 2 Marshman's style, like that of most of the European writers of Bengali enumerated below, possesses hardly any characteristic distinction of its own Indeed there is such a pervading uniformity and general sameness of character in the writings of these European scholars that it would be scarcely necessary to take and comment upon the style and peculiarities of each We shall, on the other hand, content ourselves, wherever necessary, by giving specimens of their general style in individual cases The following extract from ভাৰতবৰ্ধেৰ ইতিহান, the theme of which dealing as it does with historical narrative affords some scope indeed for literary expression, will serve as a specimen of Marshman's style, but it will be noticed that it presents hardly any distinctive feature at all and is greatly inferior to the manner of many of his European colleagues and fellow-writers in the same field

Long are (1) Æsop's Fables translated (2) Murray's Grammar in Bengali (Return of Names and Writings, etc., p. 134)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These are the volumes which were intended to form a series of elementary works on History and Science for the use of Indian youths (see Preface to Mack's [4]] And Alam Serampore 1834) noticed below

### প্ৰাদির বুছ।

প্লাসিতে নবাৰ সাহেবের পূর্ববালাবধি কতক সৈত ছাউনি ক্রিয়া গুৰিগাছিল এবং ইংল্ডীয়েরা বে মাঞ্জিতে সে ম্বানে প্রছিলেন ঐ দিবদ নবাৰ বাহেৰ বৃহং সে ছানে উপত্নিত কংগেন। ভাঁহান বৃত্তে পঞ্চাশ সহল প্রতিক এবং মহারদ সহল মধার্ক এবং পঞ্চানটা তোপ ছিল। ইংল্ডীরের্ডের কেবল নর্মত গোরা ভাষার মধ্যেও এক্সত গোল্খাল ও পঞাৰ অনুমান তহিল একপত অনুটোপস্থ চুইটাআৰ একপ্ত বিপাহী সর্বাপ্তছা তিন সহস্র একশত সৈত্র ছিল। তাবং দিবস ব্যাপিয়া বংগ্ৰাম হ**ই**ল এক বৃদ্ধ আৰু গোলাফেপেতে নিশান হইল ভাহাতে ব্ৰালাৰ অভ্যন্ত ভীত হট্যা অনিষ্টচেষ্টকেল্পের প্রাধর্ণেত বেলাব্যানে আপন গৈলেগছিগকে পশ্চাং হটিতে আলা দিলেন ইছা দেখিয়া শীগৰাণৰ আগন সৈত পুৰক করিলেন তাহাতে ক্লাইব নাহেবেগ মনেতে নিক্তর হুইল যে শীগ্রশাক্ষর আশারদের পক্ষে হুইবেক অতএব তিনি ইংলতীয় লৈন্ডেমিগাকে অলসর হইবা ব্রক্তিছ নবার লাভেবের অবশিষ্ট সৈনোর উপর আঞ্জেশ করিতে আলো দিলেন। এই চই कर्वनिक्तारक व्यवीर भीववासरवव विद्यानगठिककारक छ देशकाहि रेगरनाव অগ্রসরণ দেবিরা নবাব বাহেবের মন বে কিঞিং দোলারণান ছিল সে ছিল্ল ভুট্টা এবং তিনি চুট সভল্ল গোক ছুট্টা অতি বেগগামি উটাবোহৰ প্ৰকৃত প্ৰায়ম কবিবেল। নৰাব লাহেবের প্লাহন দেখিয়া বকলেই ব্ৰহ্মত অনলোলোগী ছইল অভ্যান ইংলভীৰ সৈনা বৈকালে भीठवकी नमह दिशक्तद्रश्व श्रृष्टिनिएक व्यादन कहिल। धहेबान कृष्टि ৰন পোৱা হত ও শাঘাতী হওৱাতে এবং বোলন্দ নিপানী হত ও ছত্ত্বিশ অব আঘাতী ইওয়াতে অতি বুংলালোর ও ছয়কোট লোকের প্ৰিবৰ্তন হটগু (Vol I p 131)

See also, for an account of the same battle the author's extent gaige (Ed Wenger) pp. 163-166. It is interest at compare these accounts with that given by Rejib-lochan in his Krepsa Chandra Rayer Chandra The next name that we take up is Waid's but we can dismiss it with a few words, as it is not one of any

primary importance to Bengali literature Wald's services as a printer to the Śrīrāmpur Piess cannot indeed be exaggerated but his direct connexion with Bengali literature was of the slightest kind Possibly he could not even speak Bengali so fluently as his colleagues did? and the only work which he wrote in Bengali not remarkable either for its form or for its matter was পিতাৰৰ সিংকেৰ চৰিত্ৰ or Memori of Pitamber Sing, a native Christian 8

William Carey's son, Felix Carey, however, contributed some of the important works to the literature of the

Felix Cares 1786 1822 period Felix Carey was born in October 22, 1786 and died at Śrirām-pur in November 10, 1822 Within

this brief space of life, he applied himself successfully to the philanthropic and missionary work with which his father had been identified and collaborated with him in his literary undertakings. He was a medical missionary of great skill, a first-rate printer trained by Ward, and a scholar in Sanscrit and Pali, Bengali and Burmese, not unworthy his father <sup>4</sup> He was not only a coadjutor of Rām-kamal Sen<sup>5</sup> but himself planned (1818) the scheme<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See p 106 ante

E Carey, Memoir of Carey, p. 424

<sup>3 4</sup>th Ed Calcutta 1843

For more details about his life and writings, see Marshman, Life and Times of Carey, etc., Bengal Obituary, pp. 249 250, Smith, Life of William Carey (many references), Dictionary of National Biography

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Bengal Obituary, p 250

<sup>°</sup> See বিদ্যাহারাবনী পাঠকেরদের প্রতি মেং ফিলিকন কেবী সাহেবের পত্র। appended to F Carey's বিদ্যাহারাবনী তৎগুর্ঘমশ্রত ব্যবচ্ছদ্বিদ্যা।

of bringing out an edition of Bengali encyclopedia. His untimely death prevented him from carrying ont his design to a successful issue but he had the satisfaction of seeing the first volume of the senes a treatise on Anatomy published before be died. His chief works in Bengali are (1) ব্রিটন দেখার বিবরণ স্কর or an Abridgement of the Histors of England from the invasion His works of Julius Carear to the death of George the Second by Dr Goldsmith and continued by an eminent writer to the Peace of Amiens in the year 1802 translated into Bengalee by Felix Carey Scrampore 1820 Republished by the School Book Society (2) affaggas প্রায়র বিষয়ণ or the Pilgrim's Progress translated into Bengalee by F Cares 2 Parts Serampore 1821 22 Edition by J D Pearson 1831 by Wenger, 1852 (৪) বিছাহারাবলী মর্বাৎ বাঙ্গালা ভাষার কুত ইউরোপীয় সর্ব্যয়াহা ভাবৎ भाइत्सन निव्यविशांति मृत्रव्ययायती। उथ्यायस्यम्। राजास्वर्गाताः। ফিলিকুস কেরী কতৃক পঞ্মবার ছাপাঞ্চ এন্সেঞ্লেদিরা ব্রিটানিকা নাম বাহাবণী হইতে বাদালা ভাৰার ফুত। গরিষ্ঠ উলিআন কেরী করুক তর্মনা বিবেচিত এব খ্রীকার বিখাবদার করুক তারা বিবেচিত ও প্ৰীক্ষিত্ৰ তৰ্কলিছোম্বি কড় ক নাহাব্যীকত। প্ৰীৰামপুৰে মিশিরন ছাপার্নাতে ছাপাঞ্ড। সন ১৮২ । or Vidyahara bulee or Bengalee Encyclopædia. Vol I Anatomy translated into Bengalee from the 5th edition of Encyclopeedia Britannica by F Carey Assisted by Sreekanta Vidyalındar and Shree Kobichindra Turkasıromoni Pun lits The whole revised by Rev W Carey D D Serampore Printed at the Mission Press 1820 (Nov 1) 1

Other works nitributed to F Carey re —(1) Translation of Mills History of Isdia (Smith, Lie f William Carey p. 204; Beng I Contuary p. 250) published by School Book Society (II) Translation of Goldmith Vicer of Wakefeld (Dut of Antonal Biography), (III) A Work of Land in Bengali (Bengal Obtrary p. 205) Bistraces is

From a literary point of view, however, none of these works is delectable to the general reader and we may pass over them without any special comment. But the last-named publication has an interest of its own as the first vernacular work on a scientific subject written on the western lines. It will be hardly within our scope to

give a detailed analysis of the book Importance of his but an enumeration of the chief scientific writings heads of subjects dealt with will sufficiently explain its scope and object. It is divided into three parts (क्ष्ण), each part containing several chapters ( খণ্ড ) and each chapter divided into sections (অধ্যায়), which are again subdivided into paragraphs or articles (প্রর্ব) The first part deals with Osteology ( অন্থিবিজা), second part with Comparative Anatomy ( পুল্যাপুল্য ব্যবচ্ছেদ্বিখা) while the third pait traces the history and progress of the Science (ব্যবচ্ছেদবিদ্যোৎপত্তি-কাৰণ) and gives a list of the principal Hindu works (then known) on "the subject of Anatomy, Medicine and Chymistry" with the names of their authors and a brief account of their contents The whole is rounded off with a glossary of technical and difficult terms (ব্যব্দেশ্বিদ্যাদংজ্ঞার্থপ্রাপক এক অভিধান) which, in certain respects, is the most interesting part of the entire This enormous volume of about 700 pages, however, is haidly commendable for its stiff and laboured style, bristling as it does with unintelligible technical terms and phrases, but it certainly bears testimony to

undoubtedly incorrect in giving 1818 as the date of publication of F Carey's Anatomy Dinesh Chandra Sen (History of Bengali Lit, p 872) erroneously gives the title of F Carey's Anatomy as "Hadavali Vidya" ( হাড়াবলী বিজা) obviously mistaking the name বিজাহারীবলী or cyclopædia of knowledge. This book will also be found in the list of School Book Society's publication before 1821.

the compher's learning his careful research and his unwearred industry. The following will serve as a specimen of its harsh and difficult style.—

গুঠের কন্টাকৃতি প্রবর্ধনন্ত থ্রী মাংসংশৌ উর্ছছ কটা।বর্তকের এবং এব হ গুঠাবর্তকের কন্টাকৃতি প্রবর্ধনেতে উৎগর হয় এবং উর্ছছ নবগুটাবর্তকের কন্টাকৃতি প্রবর্ধনেতে প্রবিষ্ট হয়। গুঠের কন্টাক্ প্রেবর্ধনপ্রকৃত্র প্রামানগোলী কলেকলাবর্ধনাকে উর্জোগন করে (p 161)। অপার থ্র কালাকলাকুদের গুঠিমান পর্বার উত্তর্গাবে বিহুত অতি বৃহস্ ভাটকা নামে মাংসপ্রভিয়ব্বতে গর্মণা আন্ত্রভাবে বাকে থ্রী মাংসপ্রভিয়ব্ব বাধানবিদ্যাকৃতি প্রকৃত্র কোনো হ বাবক্রেমণ্ডের। তাহার্লস্বর্পর বাধানবিদ্যাকৃতি প্রকৃত্র কোনো হ বাবক্রেমণ্ডের। তাহার্লস্বরের বাধানবিদ্যাকৃতি প্রকৃত্র কোনো হ বাবক্রেমণ্ডের। তাহার্লস্বরের বাধানবিদ্যাকৃতি প্রকৃত্র কোনো হ বাবক্রেমণ্ডের। তাহার্লস্বরের বাধানবিদ্যাক্রিয়াক্

The Glossary however though not always accurate and expressive yet a praiseworthy attempt, is interesting to the student of the language. It covers about 40 pages of close print and is exhaustive as far as the efforts of the compiler could reach who himself was fully cognisant of the difficulties of his task?

For the difficulties of his subject and his style as well as the imperfection of his glossary the compiler does not forget to make an ample apology—

Among other European Missionary writers at Siñampui, the name of Rev John Mack, unassuming as it is, is interesting to the student John Mack of the literary listory of the time 1797-1845 He was born in March 12, 1797, a native of Edinbuigh, his father having been a writer to the signet He was educated at the Edinburgh University and distinguished limself at the Baptist College at Bristol On his visit to England during 1819-21 in search of funds and men for the proposed Serampore College, Ward selected Mack to be a Professor at the College, where the latter arrived in November 1821 Mack worked as a Professor for 16 years, succeeded Maishman in the charge of the College and raised it to be for some time a first-rate private educational institution in Bengal Mack was highly proficient in Classics, Mathematics and Natural Science, and gave the first chemical lectures (in Bengali as well as in English) in Calcutta He also shared the editorial management of the Friend of India at '11rampur from its commencement He died of cholera in April 30, 1845

Mack's only, and in certain respects noteworthy, contribution to Bengali consists of a treatise on Chemistry, the first of its kind in Bengali, named কিমিয়া বিদ্যাব সাব। প্রীয়ত জান মাক সাংহবেব কর্তৃক বচিত ইইয়া গৌড়ীয় ভাষায় অমুবাদিত হইল or the Principles of Chemistry by John Mack translated into Bengalee (Serampore Press 1834) It is divided into 2 parts the first part covering about 337 pages, prefaced by an interesting introduction written

তবে অনেক বিদ্যাতে সকলেই কি শ্রকারে হঠাৎ পবিপক্ষ হইতে পারিবেন। (বিদ্যাহারাবলীগ্রন্থ পাঠকেরদের প্রতি মেং ফিলিক্স কেরী সাহেবের পত্রমিদং। 'ঃ ১

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The second part was never possibly published

in English It opens with the treatment of किन्दा दांश्व or chemical forces such as आंवर्धन कांग्व आंवा कि किन्दा दांश्व कांग्व किन्दा कांग्व कांग्व किन्दा कांग्व कांग्व

Fi Ozyge Ohlorine, Bromine Hydrogen Nitroge Sulphur Phosphorus Carbon, Boron, Selenium There is also a section on Steam Engina

It is said in the Bengel Ob t ary (p-L0)that Mack a work written in English was translated by F Carey but this is doubtful, (8ee also E.O Wenger Story of Leilbean Beptut Oh reb, 1908). In this connexion, it would be interesting to call attention to the specifion ralled by M ck which I also referred to by F Carey but of which there seem to ha a been no self t ctory solution as yet,  $v^*$  the questin relating to the p-uponethod of compiling a glossary of technical refentific terms in Bengali. We will not unter into the vexed question whether we should take Exrepean terms bodily into our language or adapt them to our use by

Glossary of technical terms.

Sanserit substitution or otherwise b t we m v be silowed to quote bere the opinion of Hack as set forth in the Preface to his work and less it to peak for itself.— The names f

Observed substances re in the great majority of bestances, perfectly new to the Bengali is guage, as they were but faw years ago to all languages. The bief difficulty was to determine whether the Eu. pran n menclature should be no rely put into Bengalee letters, or the European terms be entirely translated by Sungakrit, as bearing much the same relation to Benglees at the Greek at Latin do to English.

and noble aim to open up a useful though neglected field of knowledge and culture We cannot but speak with admitation of the work of these early missionary writers in all departments of useful knowledge, and we may be forgiven if we dwell rather long on this early Bengali treatise on a scientific subject. The object of this publication is thus given in the Pieface "Mi Marshman having proposed some years ago to publish an original series of elementary works on history and science, for the use of youths in India, I count it a privilege to be associated with him in the undertaking and cheerfully promised to furnish such parts of the series as was more intimately connected with my own studies Other engagements have retaided the execution of our project, much against our will He has therefore been able to do no more than bring out the first part of his Brief Survey of History, and now, at length, I am permitted to add to it this first volume of the Pinciples of Chemistry" With the object of teaching rudiments of the science to the Indian youth in view, Mack thought it best to write his work in Bengali, scarcely fit though it was for the expression of scientific ideas "Be it understood," he says, "the native youths of India are those for whom we chiefly labour, and their own tongue is the great instrument by which we hope to enlighten them" The book, chiefly meant to be a textbook, for which however its style is difficult enough, was compiled chiefly from the notes of lectures which the writer delivered to his pupils in Calcutta and Śrīrāmpur It is hardly necessary to speak any thing of its language

I have preferred, therefore, expressing the European terms in Bengalee character, meroly changing the words into the prefixes and terminology, so as decently to incorporate the new language" For a sketch of John Mack's life, see Carey, Oriental Christian Biography, vol 1, pp 282 286 Also Bengal Obituary

and maioer We can hardly expect onything better than what we have already seen—for the theme here is seience the writer an Englishman and the Bengali is the Bengali of almost a century ago yot it must be coted that the lacguage of this work is more simple and casy certainly than that of Felix Carey or even of some of the more abstruce writers of selectific text books in the present day. One or two specimens are selected here—

অনেক প্রকার বছর কিনিয়ালর উংগর হুইলে আলোক নির্গত হয়। অতএব বে সমরে বহন হয় সে সমর সকলেই জানে বে আলোক নির্গত হয় কিন্তু বে বছকে কবন বহুনোংগতি হয় না সে বছর গংগতেও আলোক নির্গত হয়।

আলোক কিনিলা প্রস্তাবের মত কোন ২ বছর পরস্পর সহনিপাৰক এবং কোন ২ বছর গরনাপক হয়। এই প্রকার কার্য্য পরে কয়া বাইবেক। আলোক ও বিহাতীর সাধন কোন ২ কার্য্য প্রকরণে নিশার করে। অপর ধর্ষ্যের তেকেতেও কিন্তু বিশেব বিওলা (violot) বর্গ কিরপেতে ফুচি রাখিলে ক্রেম ২ চুম্মক প্রস্তাবের শুন প্রাপ্ত হর কিন্তু বে গরীকাতে ইয়া ধ্রীকৃত হয় তথ্যসীকাতে কিঞ্চিথ সন্দেহ আছে (p 107 Sec 100-101)।

হৈত্রভানের হিতীহাজিল। সানুত্রিক অরবিশিষ্ট জনের মধ্যে বারিনের প্রনাজিল রাখা সেলে ভাষা কওক অভিনান হারাইরা শ্রেম্ম অজিল হয় এবং ওধবখাতে উজাঅন্তেনেতে দীন হয় এবং উপাধুক উপার উপাহিত হাইলে ঐ হারান অভিনান কলের হৈন্দ্রভানেতে দীন হাইলে ভাষাতে লগের হিতীহাজিদ কয়ে (p 177, Sec 258)।

আলোকের চলন ও কার্টোর খারা আলেকে বোর করে বে সে এক প্রকার বস্তা। কিন্তু কোন ২ বাজি অংখনান করেন বে সে বন্ধ নতে কেবলু বস্তার মধ্যপত একপ্রকার বিশেষ সংগত্ন খারা উৎপর (p. 108 Sec. 150)

Of the other missionaries, who belonged to the Baptist Mission and wrote some tracts and text-books, it is not necessary to dwell long upon the names of Lawson, Robinson, Wengel of Pearce. John Lawson Lawson (1787-1825) wrote a treatise on Natural History called পধাবলী which was published by the School Book Society before 1821 1 John Robinson John Robinson, some time editor of the Evangelist, translated Robinson Crusoe, 2 Bunyan's Holy Wai, and Caley's Giammai John Wenger into Bengali John Wengei,8 (1811-1880) who was an associate of Di Yates and revised his Bengali Bible (1861), edited the Upadeśaka, compiled a Bengali Giammai, translated Maishman's History,4 and wrote or edited a few tracts and school-books

<sup>1</sup> It was in six numbers, viz 1 The Lion and the Jackal (subsequently published as বিবেশ বিৰণ) 2 The Bear 3 The Elephant 4 The Rhinoceros and the Hippopotamus 5 The Tiger 6 The Cat For a sketch of Lawson's life, see Carey, Orient Christ Biography (vol ii pp 415-425)

² (১) রবিশ্নন্ ক্নোব জীবন চবিত or the Adventures of Robinson Crusoe translated by J R and illustrated with noodcuts 2nd ed 1885 pp 1-261 (২) ধর্মধুন্ধের গুড়ান্ত, অর্থাৎ আন্তবিক বিপুও স্মতান প্রভৃতিব সঙ্গে প্রীটান্ন লোকেরদের বেরপ যুদ্ধ হয় তাহার বিবরণ। জান বানন সাংহ্রের বিচিও বাবিশ্নন্ সাহ্রেবে কর্ভুক অনুবাদিত হইবা প্রীবাসপুরের ম্যাল্যে মুদ্রাদ্ধিত হইবা ১৮৫৯। (Second Edition, 1859) illustrated also by woodcuts, pp 1-316 Also wrote গঙ্গাব খালের সংক্ষেপ বিবরণ or an Account of the Ganges Canal, pp 1-19, 1854? This Robinson must not be confounded with another Robinson who was Government Inspector of Schools in Assam and wrote a work on mensuration called তুনি পরিশাণ (or Elements of Land Surveying) in 1850 which was reviewed in the Friend of India of Sept 12, 1850

s See Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography

<sup>\*</sup> See p 249 footnote ante

William Hopkins Pearce (1794 1840) who came out to India (1811) as an assistant of Ward and subsequently joined the Calcutta Baptist Printing W H Pearce, 1 94 Establishment was for several years 1640. editor of the Christian Observer and wrote a few school books 1 and Christian tracts. He is

chiefly remembered now for his interest in education and his connexion with School Book Society in which he micceeded Dr Yates as secretary

But the name of William lates cannot be passed over so lightly Dr Yates son of a shoe-maker and himself a village school master for some time William Y tes. was born at Longhborough Dec. 15

1797 1845

1792 He entered the Baptist College at Bristol where he studied the Oriental languages and came out to India o : April 16 1815 under the patronage of the Baptist Missionary Society He joined Carey at Srirampur studied Sansont and Bengali under him and helped him extensively in his literary work. In 1817 he left Carey and joined the Baptist Society at Calcutta

His works amo g other things, are -() कूलांग नुसाद । ज्यांश বোলাকার প্রবিশীয় বেশবিবার ও নবী ও পর্বাত ও নবর আব হাজর ও বর্ম ও সমুদ্য সাধ্যা ও বাণিল্য ও প্রাচীন সত্য ইতিহাস ইত্যালি বিবরণ or Geography interspersed with I formation historical and miscellaneous for the use f schools in 6 parts. Calcutts 1818. Ed in 1822; also 1843 (4) সত্য আনহা। ছই প্ৰক্ষে উচ্চে কৰে।প্ৰকৃষ or the Tru Ref ge a Christian tract. C leutia ? 1820 9 W II Pearce m at not be confounded with G Pearca who wrote o edited (1) \* | e.g. [4] हेरिहान | 1838 (3) प्रायम नार्किन्न प्रायम प्रायम कार्या प्राप्त to th Bible transi ted by Ru Krana Kabin I and revised by G Pearca. 1845 (3) देवर्ष निवासक क्षेत्र । or Foolish Galatians o I constance in Faith xposed and Antidote supplied (pp 1-59) Calcutta 1845 ? For more detail about W B Pearces Hf and writing see Lie f W H Pearce by William Yates; Bengal Obitnary pp 221-222 Mission ry Herald, 1828; Carey Orient Christ Bography vol ili pp 1-14 (a list of his works given at p 10)

becoming pastor of the English Church at Circular Road in 1829-30. In 1824 he became Secretary of the School Book Society and got large opportunities for carrying out his educational projects. His educational works received considerable encouragement from Government which not only subsidised him but offered him a stipend of £1,000 on condition of his devoting himself to such work an offer which he declined. He died at sea on July 3, 1845. His works in Bengali are numerous but they were all published between 1817 and 1827 and consist chiefly of

- 1 The New Testament translated, 1833 Ed in 1839
- 2 The Holy Bible in Bengali 1845 pp 1-1144 (subsequently revised by J Wengel and C B Lewis in 1861 and 1867) See Appendix II at the end of this volume
  - 3 হিতোপদেশ (expurgated edition) 1841
- 4 পদাৰ্থ বিজা or Natural Philosophy and History 1824
- 5 পদার্থ-বিতা-সাব। অর্থাৎ বালকেবদিগেব পদার্থ শিক্ষার্থে কথোপকথন or Elements of Natural Philosophy and Natural History in a series of familian dialogues designed for the instruction of Indian youth Calcutta 1825 2nd Ed 1834 Published by the School Book Society 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For more details about his life and work see James Hoby, Memoir of William Yates (1847), Dictionary of National Biography, Bengal Obituary, pp 222-225, Dictionary of British and Foreign Authors, vol in, Cal Chr Observ 1845, Eclectic Review, vol iv, Cal Rev, vol x, p 162 et seq, Catalogue of British and Foreign Bible Society, 1857, p 332, etc, W H Carey, Oriental Christian Biography, vol I pp 29, 48, India Review, vol vii, 1843, pp 740-743, in which will be found an excellent likeness of Dr Yates by Grant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This work, although on a scientific subject, avoids scientific technicalities as much as possible and constitutes an eminently readable popular exposition of the broad topics of Natural Philosophy and History and is indeed the first of its kind

6 Introduction to the Bengalee Language in two vol nmes 1840 2nd Ed by J Wenger 1847 Containing a grammar a reader and explanatory notes with an index (in vol I) and selections from Bengali literature (in vol II The author's Preface says that it consists of two volumes the first of which is chiefly of European and the second entirely of native composition " The first volume con tains a grammar select reading lessons consisting of simple sentences fables anecdotes etc while the second contains in a condensed and corrected form the best parts of all the native (mostly prose) compositions in Bengali. The selections are from Tota Itihas (18 tales) Lipumala

The style and manner are more pagrative than philosophical or acientific. The form is that of a dialogue between a teacher and his pupil who is curious to acquire an insight into the mysteries of the nat ral phenomena. This work is chiefly compiled from Martinet Catechism of N ture and Baley's Useful Knowledge The subjects embraced are too many but they are dealt with in a popular and rathe summary way. After giving in the first few chapt re some account of the mysteries of the Heavens ( willing अरांदि विषय ) and the atmosphere (दिस पांत छ नायांना पाद छ वानावादे महित्र दिल्ल क्यन ) the teacher discourses on the earth ( नृष्तिक च तुक्तवह दिश्व ) and th human being (भन्नम दिश्वक कथा) and then goes on from the sixth dialogue to the description of the imal and the regetabl kingdoms, concluding with a few

words o the minerals and on the products of various countries. Here is a specimen both of its solence and its style -

শিয়াঃ নৰ এশ জনৰ বে বৰ্ণন হয় সেটা কি ৮

শ্বস্থা সে নক্ষর্যানন কিন্তু পূর্ব্য সভাগ্রাহারে কোন বস্তুত্র বাস্প আফালে উঠে তাহার মান্য ক্লিক প্রবিষ্ট হতহাতে তাহা অবণিত হয় ভাহাতে বে প্রার্থ त्र प्रकृत रह मां रह जांदर जेवल वर्तम रह ।

বিষ্য । রাজিকালে বে লালেয়ার কবি বছ সে কি ?

শুরু। বছৰাৰ বহু বাহাতে আন্তির বোগ আহে এবন কোন বাবু বিশেষ চঠকে কিখা সূত বৃক্ষ ও পাত্ৰ হুইতে। নিৰ্মত কোন সন্তোহ বস্তু ক্ষরিৰ ক্ষ কিংলৰ বোল হওৱাতে nuffia FT: (2nd edition p 14)

Of the other Missionary Societies the London Mission which came into being a little later took some part in the encouragement of the vernacular and promotion of education through

London Missionary **Bociety** 

that medium Many of its mission aries in these early days of text book writing com posed numerous educational works of value and metulness but it would be sufficient for our purpose if we take into consideration the names Robert May J Harley J D Pearson and James Keith The first three of these missionance however whose names are linked together like those of the three great Śrīrāmpur hrethren are remembered not so much for their literary efforts as in connexion with their numerous flourishing

Robert May 1758 1818

vernacular schools established between Kalna and Chinaurah In July 1814 Robert May 1 with a

very narrow moone opened a free vernaenlar school in his dwelling house at Chinsurah but within a year be succeeded in establishing fifteen more schools with 951

Be gel Obst ry (p 225) adds Pleasing T les Epitome of Ancient History (also Hobby p. off p. 211) C I brated Characters of Anci t Hi tory a translation of Banyan Pilgrim Progress Pt. I and of Baxtor's Call to the U converted (Also Murdoch C ! log ) Besides these Y tes, like many oth missionaries menti ned here, wrote numerous Christian Tracts. He also wrote a Bengales Gramma ed. Wenger Calcutts, 1849 See W H. Carey Orust I Chruit a Bogs phy vol 1 p 44; also India Retire vol vil 1848

See Asiatic Journ I ol. fil 1817 p 500; Bengal Objusty p 208; Cal Rev vol 1850 rt Be cal Literature d Laugu pe"; Lushington, Hi tory Design d Present State f Benerolent Institutio s or nes C leutia 1824 pp 145-155; Long Introduction to Adam Reports pp. 1-6; Long's Handbook to th Bengal M ssions: W H Carey Orient Christ, Bography vol III pp. 294-298 For John Harley ase W H Carey op cut., p. 134 et seq

scholars and obtained the patronage of Lord Hastings Mi May however was soon cut off by death but his colleagues Messis. Harley and Pearson, who also belonged to the same society, succeeded in keeping up his work by the offer of their services. Robert May 1 compiled in 1817 an authinetical table on the native model which was popularly known for a long time as May-Gamita.

Harley or by his Ganitānia or sistem Harley or by his Ganitānia or sistem Harley or (Chinsurah, 1819) compiled on a inixed model 2 Pearson's works however, were of greater value and effect than any of these. He was a very industrious and voluminous writer and it is difficult to draw up a complete list of his writings, of which the following seem to be the more important ones.

- (1) প্ৰকোষ্ণী or Letters on Familiai Subjects containing 260 letters on domestic, commercial, and familiai subjects, zemindary accounts, and other forms in common use 1819 6th ed in 1852 (Published by the School Book Society)
- (?) পাঠশাণাৰ বিৰবৰ or Schoolmaster's Manual (Published by the School Book Society) 1819 Explains the Bell and Lancaster system

<sup>1</sup> On the epitaph over Robert Mny's remains are written the following words "In his life he was especially engaged in promoting the best interests of the rising generation, by whom his name will long be held in endearing recollection" (Bengal Obituary, p 298) 新行 (Gonito) or a Collection of Arithmetical Tables by R May in Bengali, 8vo Calcutta 1821 See Catalogue E I Co's Library (1845), p 268

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See also the works cited above in p 263 footnote <sup>1</sup> Also see Carey, Oriental Christian Biography, vol 1, pp 368-71 May's and Harley's Arithmetic were republished by the School Book Society

- (3) ব্ৰাৰ্থী or Idomatical Exercises. English and Bengalee with dialogues, letters eto on various subjects Calentta 1820 A phrase-book and vocabulary Published by the School Book Society (Ed Cal 1829)
- (4) নীতিক্থা or Moral Tales composed jointly with Raja Rādhūkānta Deb for the School Book Society Before 1821
- (5) Translation of Murray's English Grammar 1820 [Meotioned also in Catalogue E I Company's Library (p 267) as 'Grammar of the English Language English and Beogalee Calcotta 1820']
- (6) etibla Cocking lates or an Epitome of Anoient History English and Bengalee containing a conoise account of the Egyptians Assyrians Persians Grecians and Romans The English compiled by Pearson the Bengali version by Pearson and others Calentia 1880 pp 1 623 (A previous edition containing only 304 pages with the accounts of the Egyptians, Assyrians Baby lonians Medes Persians and the Greciaes)
  - (7) ভূগোণ ও জ্যোতিৰ ইত্যাদি বিবহণ কথোপকখন Eoglish and Benguli 1st ed 1824 2nd ed Calentis 1827
  - (৪) হুই মহা কাঞা or the Two Great Commandments being an exposition of St Matthew xxii 37 Calculta 1826
  - (9) We find the following entry in Murdoch Cata logno Pilgrim's Progress Bengali and English by Rev J D Pearson chiefly from the Serempore Edition, 1834 2nd Ed Bengali alone An Edition published by J Wenger in 1853 1
  - (10) In the Catalogue of E I Company's Labrary (1845) p 207 mention is made of A School Dictionary Figlish and Bengali 12mo Calentia 1829

See also W H Carey Orient I Ch istica Biography vol i, p. 570 for a list of Pearson works.

Of Rev James Keith, who came out to India in 1816 and belonged to the London Mission at Calcutta, it is

stid that "during his short cuter, in tame keith compination with Rev. II Townly" he laid the foundation of a mission in the metropolis of India"— His chief works, educational or libberal are (i) জব লন লগোলন ও মালা এই উভ্লেব ব্যোগালন কৰা কিন্তুল between a porter and a gardener A Christian trust. 2nd ed., pp. 1-19. Serampore 1820 '
3nd ed considerably modified, pp. 1-20. Calcutta 1135 '
(ii) সালবে সমিধেৰ শিলাপে লোক প্ৰায়েশ্বিক বাস্থাত ব্যভানাৰ আনবাহ of a Grammar of the Bingalee language adapted to the young in east questions and insuces. Calcutta 1825, pp. 1-68. 3nd ed. Calcutta 1839. Published by the School Book Society."

i Henry Pownly vas also a truet vinter in Bengali, Among his works may be mentioned (1) द्यान दाद दानकोंग or What Scriptures should be regarded, a Christian tract in the form of a dialogue between a Christian and a limidal Sciampore 1820 (1) d. C. C. T. and B. S. 1836) pp. 1-12 (2) এবছন প্রিচেক ক্ষিতিক ক্ষেত্র এক্তর বিশ্বিক প্রকাশ ক্ষেত্র বিশ্বিক বিশ্বিক বিশ্বিক স্থান ক্ষেত্র বিশ্বিক বিশ্বি

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Bengal Obituary, pp 67 68 1 natic Journal, 1817, vol. in, p 500

Thresh Ch Sen (History, P 870) choncously styles the author as Kent and his Gramman as Ket-Vyakaran. The date given by him is 1820. It seems the book was not available to him when he wrote this account for otherwise this mistake is absuid. In Catalogue of P I Co's Library, mention is also made of Nitikotha or Fables in Bengah by J. Keith Calcutta 1828. A specimen of the method and style of the Gramman is given below.—

Interjections or আগেপোক্তি বিষয়।

<sup>&</sup>gt; প্রম। আবেগেজিতে কি বুঝা যায়

উওর। তাহাতে বক্তান শক্ত প্রমাণ ব্রা যায়, যথা আঃ কি জুংখ। উঃ কি ভালা। ইঃ কি বেদনা।

ওগো ওরে ওহে, আরে এবে ওলো এই সকল আর্দেগোন্ডি দুবস্থ ব্যক্তির পূর্বে উচ্চ হয় যথা ওগো বাবা ওরে রামংবি।

It is not worth while to linger long over the names of other minor mismonary or non missionary writers who wrote religious tracts and educational toxt-books for to give on exhaustive

account of their names and writings

would be to enumerate a Homeric catalogue <sup>1</sup> We may however mention in passing the names of Horklotts <sup>2</sup> Sutherland <sup>3</sup> and Sandys <sup>4</sup> who wrote chiefly on Geography of Kempbell <sup>5</sup> and Kucano <sup>6</sup> whose contributions were mostly historical of Mundy <sup>7</sup> Rouse <sup>8</sup> Hoeberhin <sup>4</sup> and Townly <sup>10</sup> who were religious controversialists of

বো, হে বে বো, এই সকল আন্তৰ্গালি বহিনান গুলিও আন্তৰ ইল হয়। ব্যা পিটাবো, হয়ি তে বুটাবা বে ছড়িবো। (p 41) It is curious to note such o pressions occurri g as আমি কয়া দিখাছি (p. 35) আমি কয়া সেনাৰ (p. 82)

The activity of the Calentta School Book and of School Society as well as the writings of authors like the Re K M Banerji's not treated here because proparly speaking they belong to a subsidiary moroment in literature which came into rollof a decad later than the movement inaugurated by the missionaries of Sritempur or the Pundits of Fort Will am College.

A Map of the World in Bongali by Rov Gregory Herklotts of Chinsurah 18°4

Goography of India by J Sathorland.

General Geography in Benguli by Sandys, 181 ...

Tucker's History of the Jews translated into Bengall, 1843, pp. 1 25

Parasik Itibas

ৰাইবেল অন্যতি বৰ্ণান্ত সহিত বিশ্বোধেন্তৰে শালোক বৰ্ণান জুলনা বিৰুদ্ধ পুজৰ বা Ohristian ty and Hi d iem (2 pts. pp. 1230 Onl 1828) by George Mundy G Mandy was attached to O M 8 at Ohinsurah Interir a pastor of the Cool o Barri Ohapel. d 1853.

Ro se revised the B gall Bible (189 ) He wrot many tracts of which may be mentioned प्रीके निकासिक्षक हैगीरगंभवृत्ती or Plain E imona on Christian Doctrine pp. 1 148, 1881

स्थ नुष्य क सुवाय Bibl Stories tran  $^1$  ted from the German of D Obristian Oottli b Barth by Mr Hoeberlin. With  $2^n$  filustrations. pp. 1  $\omega 2$  1840

See p 266 foots te

Miller, Mendies and Rozario who were lexicographers, of Yule, Werthrelit, Rodt and Boinwetsch who composed easy reading lessons for children in schools. We may similarly pass over the names of William Morton, a miscelleneous tract and text-book writer, of David Carmichael Smyth, author of a treatise

- 3 Bengali Dictionary, 1547
- শিহু বৌধোর্য় or Spelling Book with short sentences and verses
- । भिन्न भिन्न or Object Lessons, 1552
- ° (a) জ্ঞান কিরণোর্শ: সর্থাৎ বালব চুলেন ধ্যোধিবাটক বিন্যাবিন্যক বিবৃতিত বৃত্তান্ত | pp 1 92 Calcutta 1813 (b) জ্ঞানাস্পোর্ম: স্থাৎ বালক শিশোর্থ বহু খান্য বর্ণনালা। pp 1 16 Calcutta 1811 (c) স্ক্রিমিন্রা। a Christian tract (see Bengal Obituary, p 68) Rev Randolph de Rodt (1811 1843) was attached to the London Missionary Society 'Came out to India April 11, 1826 (See Carey, Oriental Christian Biography, p 180)
- া সৰ্পাঠ। or Thirty Reading Lessons for the use of Children in Bengali Christian Schools (pp. 161 Calcutta 21855 2) by Rev Chistian Bomwetsch
- \* (a) Proverbs of Solomon translated 1843 (b) Biblical and Theological Vocabulary, English and Bengali compiled, by William Morton and others, pp 1 31 Calcutta 1845 (c) দুইার বাণু সংগ্রহ or a Collection of Proverbs, Bengali and Sanscrit, with their translation and application in English, pp 1 160 Calcutta 1832 (d) Dictionary of the Bengali Language, with Bengali Synonyms and English interpretation Calcutta 1828 (c) ভথাপ্রকাশ হার হার্তী or a Treatise on Idol worship and other Hindu observances by Vrajamohon Deb followed by translation from Vajrasuchi of Ashwagosha, pp 60, 14 Calcutta, 1842, by William Morton (Ed in 1843)
- P জনিধারীর হিদাব or Original Bengalese Zameendarce Account accompanied by a translation into English, pp 1 401 Calcutta 1823 Smyth died in 1841 See Bengal Obdinary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bengah Dictionary 1801 (Long and Bio 1912) A copy without title page in Sähitya Pari at Library

<sup>&</sup>quot;An abidgement of Johnson's Dictionary in English and Bengah, calculated for the use of Native as well as Luropean students to a high is subjoined a short list of French and Latin words and phrases in common use among English authors (Serampore Mission Press 1822) by John Mendies. To Vol. II. is appended an Introduction to Bengah Language. Serampore 1828

on zemindary accounts of George Galloway who translated Gladwin a Pleasant Stories of Captain Stewart ! the founder of the Burdwan Church Mission and of Dr. Hans Heinrich Eduard Reer 3 who rendered Bangali some of Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare name of Sir Graves Champoes Hanghton the great scholar and orientalist, will detain us for a moment and with this last though not the least important name no close one chapter on the Encopean writers in Bengali

Sir Graves Champney Haughton son of John Hanghton a Dubliu physician was born in 1789. He was educated in England and having obtained a military cadetahip on the Bengal Establishment of East India Company he proceed ed to India in 1808 In 1812 he joined the Fort William

Bir Graves Ohump ney Haughton. (1783 1849)

College where he received seven medals three degrees of honour and various pecuniary rewards for his proficiency in Arabic Persian, Hindusthani Sanscrit and

व बाहत देविहानियांचा or Pleasant Stories of Gladwins Persian Hoonshee translated from the original Persian and English into the Rengalee language Calcutta, printed by D Rozario & Co., 1840

(a) উপৰণ কথা (ইতিহাসের প্রক্রম) পরস্ক ইংল্রীরোপাধ্যানের চুত্রক। or Moral T les of History with an historical sketch of Pogland and her connection with India etc. (containing selections from L. M. Stretch's Beauties of History) pp 1.09 Calcutta 1820 Dated wrongly in Bulrucos as appearl g in 1819 and ontitled ইভিয়ানিক নীতিগন Dinesh Chandra Sen, Histo y (pp 860 and 870) outers the book twice as Upa desha Katha and Moral Tales ! History without identifying them (b) বিদিয় নাশক or the Destroyer of Darkness a Christian Tract pp 1 20 P blished by the Calcutta Christian Fract and Book Society; 1835 For Stewart and Weltbrecht see Defret G setter vol on B rdw n in the Chap on Education. Also see Longs Introduction to Ail ma Reports; Lushington History sto of Rel grous and Benevolent I stitutions n and sa Calcutt pp 145-153.

মহাকৰি সেক্দীয়ে প্ৰবীত শটিংকৰ নৰ্বাহ্ৰণ লেখ্য টেলেৰ কঠিগৰ चांबाविका or Lamba Tales from Shakespeare, translated by E Roer pp 1 1 Calcutta 1833 (Bengal Family Library Series)

Bengali In 1815 his ill-health compelled him to leave for England In 1817 he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at Harleybury where he continued till 1827 <sup>1</sup> Haughton took great interest in the foundation of the Royal Society in London of which he was an oriental member and honorary secretary from 1831 to 1833 He died of cholera at St Cloud, near Paris, on August 28, 1849 <sup>2</sup>

Haughton was more of a scholar than a littérateur and his works in Bengali have a philological rather than a purely literary interest. His works, chiefly useful compilations, consisted of (1) Rudiments of Bengalee Grammar (in English) London 1821, pp 1-168 composed by order of the Court of Directors and was based mainly on the works of Halbed and Carey (2) Bengalee Selections (from Chandicharan's translation of Totā Itihās, from Mrtyunjay's Bengali veision Hındı Sımhāsana Battısı, and from Harapiasād Rāy's translation of Bidyapati's Sanserit Purus-pariksa with translation into English and a vocabulary pp 1-198 London 1822 Edition by D Foibes, London, 1869 Glossary, Bengali and English, to explain the Tota Itihāsa, the Batnis Simhāsan, the History of Rājā Krsna Chandra, the Puius Paiiksā, and the Hitopa-1-124 London 1825 (4) A Bengalee-English Dictionary compiled by oider of the Court of Directors London 1833 These useful works, once held in great esteem, are still valuable, but it is rather the Bengah language than Bengah literature which owes its debt of gratitude to Haughton

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Royal Kalendar, 1818, p 293, 161d, 1820, p 282

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For further informations, see Gentleman's Magazine, 1833, pt 11, p 76, biographical notice in ibid, 1849, pt 11, p 420, Annual Rept of the Royal Asiatic Soc for May 1850 in vol xiii of Journal, pp 11 V, Wilson's Dublin Directory, 1790, p 121, Alumni Oxoniences, 1715 1886 in 626, Allibone's Dict of British and American Authors 1872, vol 1

## CHAPTER IX

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

We have now closed the survey of a period of 10th century literature in Bengal which is covered principally by European writers and their colleagues and which if not the greatest, is at least one of the most important in its literary bustory for although not rich in positive

General romarks n the characteristics of the European writers and their achieve ment for although not rich in positive accomplishment this and the period of transition which followed it had been the great school time of modern hierature periods in which the niconscious experiments of Carey

and his colleagues were made expanded and multiplied sometimes with the cruscious purpose of developing a prose sigle and always with the practical effect of doing so by writers in the widely diverging branches of literature. No other period demonstrates so conclusively the

Importance of this period in literary history folly or fallacy of the theory already alluded to which would bid us ignore historic estimates and look only to the best things in literature Of such

best things this period has got very little to show its productions with the greatest stretch of literary charity can hardly be said to touch even the fringe of literature proper. To appreciate much less to enjoy the rudi mentary publications of this period would require a certain amount of patience and catholicism if not a kind of pre-established harmony of taste in the reader yet the importance of this period is not to be underrated on that account. There is no other portion of our modern literature

the study of which can be ignored with greater danger, none the study of which is repaid by a fuller understanding, in regard to the rest Although it was a stage necessarily unproductive, it was yet the great period of germination, and an acquaintance with it is helpful understanding and enjoyment of the rich harvest which our literature had subsequently borne within the last half of the century

With the old caution about the constant overlapping of tendencies, it would not be wrong to state that this was chiefly a period of European activity in Bengali literature. It is true indeed that there was a strong

A period of Euro pean activity

native energy which expressed itself in the songs of the Kabiwalas and other products of purely native genius, not the least affected by the new spirit, and that in an historical survey of the literary achievements of this period we cannot very well ignore the significance of these forms of indigenous literature, jet when we consider Europeanised tendency of modern Bengali literature,

and unmastered counter-current of

Counter currents of native energy, how related to it

its new literary method and new mode of expression, we eannot but give a greater prominence to European activity and spread of European

The older traditions still continued to live on, ideas and an antagonism between the old and the new spirit is traceable throughout the literary history of the 19th century, for the mental progress of a nation cannot prove itself altogether independent of the fatality of hereditary transmission. But we give greater importance to the Europeans because it is the spirit of them work, aided no doubt by the mexorable hand of cneumstances, which was to dominate in the end and determine the final bent of modern literature. In spite of the natural persistence of old methods and old forms access was obtained to new methods and new forms and the ide of literary fa hion began to flow in other and more novel directions with the advent of European writers and European ideas in the field

The description which suggests itself for the quarter of a century from 1800 to 1805 is that of the early or first

Its Ira sitional charact r and the charges it brought about. Transition Period for it marks the first great advance from the old to the new although another period of progress was necessary to bring

about in its fulness the dawn of modern literary Bengali The changes of the period are many and far reaching and everywhere transitional in character. In politics and social affairs the conflict between the old and the new was gradually taking shape and there was no rest and nneertainty everywhere consequent upon such conflict. In linguistic matters we find not only profit and loss in details of vocabulary but also an innovation in the direction of a simpler syntax But in literature although the ancient trend of thought and feeling was to some extent being continued in the popular Kabi songs and other andigenous forms of literature the British contact did not fail to bring about changes of the gravest kind in relation to its material its form, and its literary temper The field of literary adventures was enlarged and since the tentative offerts resulting from these innovations took for the most part, the form of their models radical changes in literary form became palpable. The changes in the literary temper were so subtle and varied that no summary description would be adequate but that it was marked by a greater desire for individual liberty. The age became more and more articulate and forthwith res

ponded to contemporary influences. The old schools were being upset and the representative character of the old literature which was becoming more and more urbane and and artificially limited to a select few, who could appreciate its new ideas and novel forms, was lost in the attempt, mostly by untrained hands, to imitate foreign literary methods and models

Leaving aside the indigenous forms of literature for separate treatment, the first portion of this period (1800-1815), which was indeed a stage of timid experiment, was for the most part a period of European authorship, varied by occasional imitations by scarcely original native authors, the chief centre of literary publication being the

Fort William College We have traced at some length the connexion of this college with the history and

growth of Bengali literature in the early years of British settlement, and its importance cannot be gainsaid. It was here indeed that modern Bengali literature, especially Bengali prose, received its first exercising ground and without its co-operation it is doubtful whether even the Śrīrāmpur Mission, an institution equally important to Bengali literature, could have achieved the remarkable success which it actually did. The two institutions, the Fort William College and the Śrīrāmpur Mission, founded at the same time yet so dissimilar to each other

and the Srīnāmpun S

in their aim and object, found themselves connected with each other by at least one bond of close kinship,

namely, the encouragement which both afforded to the study of Bengali. We shall realise how close this relationship was when we bear in mind that almost all the publications of the College were printed at the Śrīrāmpur Press and that, on the other hand, it was the Mission which sup-

plied the College with scholars and professors of Bengali In this respect each supplemented the work of the other Indeed before the missionaries came in contact with the College of Fort William through the appointment of Caroy as Professor of Bengali their work in the field of Bengali prose had been very shight. In the meantime they had only succeeded in translating and printing off the Bengali Biblo but in this again they had rendered only a doubtful service to Bengali prose The Mission poor and too nunLmficant to undertake ortenure literary work of a permaneut kind and on ipolitical and other grounds the missionaries had all along been held disfavour The first political recognition of the 111 Mission and its worthy object with reference to the study

Gorernment en

of Bengali came with the appoint ment of Dr Carey as Professor in Lord Wellesley's newly established

College Under the patronage peculiary and otherwise, of the College a fresh impetus was given to the study of Bengali. But even then the stringent regulations which had fettered the press in India and other political restrictions stood in the way of intellectual progress and it was not until another decade or so had passed that a more liberal and far-sighted policy was adopted. It may also be noted here that the benefit rendered to Bengali hy all these early institutions was never direct but caroe indirectly and therefore with occasional fluctua ions through their oncouragement of the study of the language itself on political and other utilitarian grounds.

This Enropean patronage however was attended with both loss and gain to Beugali Latera ture. It is dangerous to dogmatise

about influences but it cannot be denied that speaking generally it was the intellectual

stimulus given by the British contact which raised Bengah Literature out of the slough of general decadence into which it had been plunged after the death of Bharat-

Stimulating influence of British contact

chandra. The vernacular was raised if not above, at least on the same level with, the classical languages, which had hitherto held the undisputed sway

literature of Bengal, which had hitherto belonged to the people in general, shifted its centre of activity from the peaceful village-homes to the crowded cities and the metropolis, and under the patronage of an alien lettered class, imbued with new ideas and novel methods, it lost its representative character, its primitive

But the literature losing its primitive colouring

coloning, and its pristine simplicity It is true that the literary spirit of the people, even though temporarily, never died out and that

the last echoes of the great Barsnab and Sakta writers still ingered faintly in their less worthy successors, the Kabiwalas, the Tatiakars, the Kathakas of the Pamchalikars, through whom they have coloured even our modern ways of thought, yet when the literature revived, with the creation of a new lettered class and a new public, it revived " with a difference."

It will be seen, however, that this era of Bengali literature is essentially an era of prose and one of its greatest achievements is indeed the creation of modern The prose of the first decade of the prose-of-all-work century, however, that we are passing in review, has

An era of prose, its formal importance

httle or nothing delectable to a mere hterary taster, but to the critical student it possesses great interest and

For this was indeed the beginning importance Bengali prose properly so called, for before 1800, it may be doubted whether, in spite of the large number of old philosophical and religious prose-works now discovered there is a single Bengah prose work of any importance which unites the bulk and literary quality of a book proper It is true indeed that the prose of the early 19th century (chiefly tentative in character) is com paratively clumsy martistic, but its formal importance in literary history can never be denied and even within this shapeless mass there is a full pulse of life that may be detected by any careful reader who does not associate old book with mummies. But in order to appreciate this importance, we must at the outset obtain some idea of the conditions under which it came about and developed so rapidly within a few years.

Modern Bengal: prose, like modern Bengal itself

Th conditions under which modern Bengali

came into being under anomalous conditions After the death of prose came into being Bhillrat-chandra and with the disappearance of the great Baisnah

and Sikta writers the literature of Bengal was left to shift for itself uncontrolled by the power of any individual native genius which alone by dwelling apart in an age of conflicting influences could have helped to guide

and its subjection to conflicting influences with the dimppearance of the old school. it The European writers who took the lead in the matter at the beginning of the 19th century had little experience of Bengal and much less of Bengali literature in matters

of composition they took as their guide not the ancient writers of Bengal, who were by this time hopelessly entombed in a mass of old macross-

(1) The Bhattachar yes; their language (পৰিতী ভাষা)

ible manuscripts, but the great Bhattacharyss or Tol pundits who on account of their classical accomplish

ments, were thought fit to write in the vernacular tongue

But these learned pundits, who traded upon the general ignorance of the people and treated the vernacular with contempt, knew nothing of our past literature, but with a confidence born of untraining and in their

Their classical learning and pedantry, and total ignorance of the vernacular literature

eagerness to display their classical learning, they affected a pedantic sanscritised style which was more than what the language could bear Their very crudition proved their greatest

disqualification, and then unwieldy style and its uncouth form, betraying all the absind defects of an untrained hand, were wholly out of accord with the genius of the language. To handle these matters properly there is needed a poise so perfect that the least overweight in any direction tends to destroy the balance. The Duke of Wellington said of a certain peer that "it was a great pity his education had been so far too much for his abilities." In like manner, one often sees the erudition of these pundits prove too much for their abilities. In justice to these learned pundits, however, it must be said that some of them honestly believed in the efficacy of the sanseritised style, which was supposed to add dignity to the flat and colourless vernacular and that if they did not write easily, they wrote

Partiality for Sans crit and absurdly sanscritised style correctly only this partiality for Sanscrit or use of সাধুভাগ (high style) was often carried to the extreme We have seen how the learned author of

Prabodh-chandrikā at the beginning of his work extols Sanscrit as the best of all languages<sup>1</sup>, but he prefers to write in Bengali masmuch as it is the best of the vernaculars on account of the preponderance of Sanscrit in it (অন্যান্য দেশীয় ভাষা ২২০০ গৌডদেশীয় ভাষা উত্তমা সংশ্বতভাষাবাহন্য

<sup>1</sup> See extract quoted at p 218

(200) This may be taken fairly as the opinion of the Bhattacharyas generally who now made it their province to patronise Bengali In Bl. II Chep I of the same work again Virtyunjay while discoursing beauties and defects of prose style quotes and analyses the following sentences as exhibiting various rhetorical qualities- देन्द्र देनीयव्यास हिल् हांक हिन विछात करत।

কামিনী কাঞ্জী মন্ত্ৰীর মন্ধ্ৰ সিল্লিভ করে Specimen of the (लातामधन)। नीरनारभन कीकांगरवाकर kind f style they faroured ক্ষোল্য পীনপরোধর প্রবাংক্তম্বী মুবুর্ণীত

লোদনা মহনমহাল্যবিশাসিনী ওনভরন্মিতামী অক্নিত্রভারম্বর ধল্বনন্দ্ৰভাৱ কে কিল্কল কুলিত ব্যস্তকু নুমানোই নুম তীকৃত দিও মুগ (উপার-ঘণ)। অন্তর্ণর্গত মন্তক্পর্যায় পর্যাত ধ্র্যাঞ্পর্ণ কিরণত্রপ বসনা বে বাহুণী দিক সে পীনওনম্বাহিত নির্মণতান্তকরবরা জহুণীয় ত্ব্য লোচা শাইতেছে (ওল্ডব)। কোনিবরুগববাবাবাবাচাব বে ancillen en Gweich voller fie allurantien per militere (সাম্যখণ)। (প্ৰবোৰচন্ত্ৰিকা বিঠীয় ভবক প্ৰথম কুন্তম)।

These examples would clearly indicate the kind of style which was highly favoured and the length to which this sanscritisation was carried 1

But long before the Bhattacharyas affected this stiff laboured and pedantic diction another style of expression chiefly favoured by the court-going or commer cial hayasthas was already extensively prevalent and

sometimes found its way into the more serious compositions of the (2) The Käpusikas; thei language (with লঠী ভাষা)

time It was a kind of half Bengali and half Persian diction which was

Of those pundits Mrtyufij y though he affected an artificially correct and learned diction was fully alive to the sense of style and knew the val of appropriate phrasing. In one place, he writes in

the language of the court and the market-place and of which we have seen a subdued specimen in the style of *Pratāpāditya Charitia* Ever since the time of Mohamme-

Persian element, its long history in Bengali literature dan conquest, Persian words and expressions or their modified Urdu forms 1 were gradually finding their way into the Bengali vocabulary,

and the necessity of their being used, more or less, in everyday conversation, no doubt facilitated the process. By the time the  $Chand\bar{\imath}$  of Kabikankan was composed Persian was already extensively used even in the verse-

Chandi of Kabi kankan compositions of the period The following quotation, in which in nine verses more than eighteen Peisian

words will be found, will show in how short a time Bengali put on a novel aspect through its admixture with Persian

সহব দিলিমাবাজ তাহাতে মজ্জনবাজ
নিবসে নিগোগী গোপীনাথ।
তাঁহাব তালুকে বনি দামিপ্তায় চাষ চষি
নিবাস পুরুষ ছগ্ন সাত॥

his quaint way শান্তে বাক্যকে গো শব্দে যে কহিয়াছেন তাহাব কারণ এই ভাষা
যদি সম্যুক্তনপে প্রয়োগ করা যায় তবে স্বয়ং কামগ্র্যাধেন্দ্র হন যদি ছুইনপে প্রয়োগ করা
যায় তবে সেই ছুই ভাষা থনিঠগোগ্রধর্মকে সপ্রয়োগকর্ত্তাতে অর্পণ করিয়া ধবজাকে
গোনপে পণ্ডিতেবদেব নিকটে বিখ্যাত করেন। আর বাক্য কহা বড় কঠিন সকলহইতে কহা যায় না কেন না কেহ বাক্যেতে হাতি পায় কেহ বা বাক্যেতে হাতির
পায়। অতএব বাক্যেতে অত্যন্ত্র দোষও কোন প্রকাবে উপেশ্রনীয় নহে কেন না
যতাপি অতিবড় স্থলারও শবীর হয় তথাপি যৎকিঞ্চিৎ একনিত্র রোগ দোবেতে নিন্দনীয়
হয় প্রবেশ্বন চিন্দ্রকা, প্রথম ন্তবক, চতুর্য কুর্বন, প্রঃ ২৪)।

<sup>1</sup> A pretty good but by no means exhaustive list of Arabic and Persian words used in Bengali will be found in Sāhitya Parişat Patrikā, vol viii, also vol xii

थक्ष बोषां माननिश्ह विकृतान त्यता सुद

(गोफ-रज डेश्यन-महोश। অবৰ্মী ৰামার কালে প্রভার পাপের ফলে

পিনাং পার মাম্দ স্বিপ । উলীর হইলা হায়খাবা ব্যাপারীরে দের বেলা

প্রাহ্মণ বৈক্ষণ হলো অবি।

মাণে কোৰে দিহা হয়৷ পোনের কাঠাহ কুড়া নাহি ভনে প্রভার গোহারি।

স্বকার হটলা কাল বিল ভুমি বেবে লাল বিনা উপকাৰে খাৰ ছতি।

পেদির দুইৰ ব্য টাকা আঠাই আনা ক্য পাই বচ্য বর দিন প্রতি।

ডিছিদার মধ্যের শোল কৃতি দিলে নাছি বোল शब शाह तक नाहि करन।

বারু গোপীনার নদী বিপাকে হটবা বন্দী হেতু বিহু নাছি পরিতাণে **।** 

কোচোলিয়া বছ পাপ সঞ্জলেব কাল সাপ

বভির কারণে বচ মারে। আণালি পাণাণি কডি শেলাখোলা নাহি দেডি

যত দিয়া বেখা নিতে পারে ঃ অমাদার বদার কাছে কালার পালে

চহার ভূড়িলা দেই পানা ৷ প্ৰস্নায় ব্যাকুল চিত্ত বেচে বাফ গোক নিতা টকের তাকা হর দশ আনা।

স্থার শ্রীবঙ্গ চতীবাটাবাৰ গা

বুক্তি করি গড়ীর বাব সনে।

ণামিলা ছাড়িয়া বৃত্তি সংল রণানার ভাই পৰে চঠী দিশা দর্শনে 💵

Kabikakkan Chastel ed by Akpny Kurake Sarker in Prachia K bisatsgraka pt il, p 5 Slightly different readings at given in

Baterabasi edition pp 6-7 20

This lengthy extinct is quoted not only to show the preponderance of Persian words and forms but it will also be noticed from the descriptions contained here that Bengal, then divided into Taluks, was governed by officers like Vi ir, Kotāl, Sarkāi, Dihidar, Jamādāi, etc., that Hindu cities or villages have already taken Mohammedan names, that people are Mohammedan Bengal getting lihelāts as a sign of ioval favour, that men like Sijmanta or Gambhira had been adoined with Mohammedan titles of distinction, and that, on the whole, Mohammedan ideas and customs had penetiated into the very fabric of native society It is not surprising therefore that in the age of Raja Krsnachandia, Bhārat-chandra Rāy, Bhārat chandra himself a man of sound culture possessing considerable knowledge of Sanseiit, could not escape the fascination of a mixed language and the influence of Persian ideas 1 We find him saying, therefore, while describing a conversation between Emperor Jahangir and Rājā Mānasımha

> মানসিংহ পাতদাব হইল যে বাণী উচিত সে পাবশী আববী হিন্দুখানী॥ পভিশ্লাছি যেই মত বর্ণিবাবে পাবি কিন্তু সে দকল লোক বুঝিবাবে ভাবি॥ না ববে প্রসাদগুণ না হবে বদাল অতএব কহি ভাষা ববনী মিশাল॥

It is not unusual therefore that writing in 1778, Halhed in the Preface to his Grammar says "At present those persons are thought to speak this compound idiom

(Bengali) with the greatest elegance who mix with pure Indian verbs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is well-known, for instance, that much of the famous discription of his heroine's beauty is derived from Persian sources.

the greatest number of Persian and Arabic nouns."

It is in the court language however which still favours a preponderance of effeto Persian forms that the largest percentage of Persian words are to be found and the following extract of a petition given in an appendix to Halhed's Grammar will show how

Specimen of the contribution of the personness ion was carried even to a far greater length than was ever done by the authors of Iratajuditya Chantra or Totallibra.

্ৰিম। গৰিব বেণ্ডাত শেষামত। আমাৰ ভবিদাৰি প্ৰগণে কালোল তাবাৰ চই আম দৰিলা ,কিন্তি চইটাছে দেই চই আম পান্তী চইটাছে কেই চই আম পান্তী চইটাছে চাকালে একবৰসপ্ৰমৰ উন্নেই চৌধুৰি আদ বাৰ অবহৰতী পৰল কৰিলা ভোগা কৰিছেছে। আমি মানতভাষিৰ শৰ্মনায়েশ মান্তা পড়িশেছি উদ্ধ ব্যাৰ দে শৰ্মাৰ হইতে আমি ও এক চোশনাৰ শ্ৰহণিদেশতে গাছিলা তোৱাদেশতে তাৰ দিয়া আনালত কৰিলা কৰা দেশাইছা কেন। ইতি সন ১১৮৩ তাৰিপ ১১ আগৰ। দিনৰি লগতবিধ লাব।

It will be noticed however that about this time a reaction was setting in in favour of the use of Bengali and the lengthy prefaces to Lorster a Lorathriary as well as to Halhed's Crammar which detail at some length the arguments in favour of the study of Bengali, bear witness to this reversion of popular feeling. Bengali at this time officially as well as popularly was an unrecognised vernacular and both Halhed and Forster rightly insist upon the absurdity and inconvenience of continuing the use of Persian in courts of law

Discontinuance of Persian in Courts of law Colebrooko pays a high culogy to Halbed and Forster for having

brought the scientific study of Bength within easy reach, but to them also as well as to other later writers, both native and foreign, belongs the credit of making Bengah not only the official language of the Presidency but also the basis of one of the most prolific literary languages of India

While the tol pundits and the court-scribes were attempting to bring Bengah under the lead of Sanscrit

(3) The common people, their language (5বিড বা অপর ভাষা) and Persian respectively, the language in the country-places, among "low men" and the people generally, was the unforbidden, if untaught, Bengah, the old writers and of which we

which we find in the old writers and of which we find a distant echo in the outbursts of purely native inspiration like those of the Kabiwalas,

Kabiwalas and others

yātrākars, Kathakas, and Pāmchālikars. A little sanscriftsed on the

one hand and a little persianised on the other, the language preserved the equipose perfectly and drew its nerve and vigour from the soil itself. It was so direct in its simplicity, so dignified in its colloquial ease, and so artful in its want of art that it never failed to appeal. Not a single latter-day writer, as the foremost among them himself acknowledges, has been able to speak in the same tongue. While speaking of this language of the people in its contrast to modern mixed literary diction, Bankim Chandra lamented? তালিকাৰ দিনে ভাতনৰ ও উন্নতিৰ পথে সমান্ত্ৰত সৌন্ধৰ্য বিশিষ্ট ৰাস্থালা সাহিত্য

' Īsvar Gupta

দেখিয়া ভানেক সময় বোধ হয়, হৌক স্থলব কিন্তু এ বুঝি পবেব আমাদেব নয়। খাঁটি বাঙ্গালা কথায় বাঙ্গালীব মনেব ভাব ত

খুঁ জিগ্না পাই না। তাই ঈশ্ববন্তপ্তেব কবিতা সংগ্রহে প্রবৃত্ত ২ইগ্নাছি।"

¹ ঈষর গুণোর ক্বিতা সংগ্রহের মুখবজ। (1895) Preface to the Kabitā Samgraha of Īśvar Chandra Gupta Ed by Bankım Chandra Chatteijee and Gopāl Chandra Mukerjee in 2 pts.

Idvar Gupta' whose tono and temper allied him with the kabiwalas was indeed the last of that blessed race over whom the confusion of Babel had not yet fallen

It must not be supposed here that we are advocating purism in the matter of language or lamenting over the prevalence of Sauscrit Persian or other juffuence Purism" to quote the wurds of a learned writer in the Cilculta Review? is radically unsound and has its origin in a spirit of narrowness. In the free commingling of nations there must be borrowing and giving. Can anything be more absord than to think of keeping language pure when blood itself cannot be kept pure! No human language has ever been perfectly pure any more than any human race has been pure. Infusion of foreign elements do in the long run carich languages just as infusion of foreign blood improves races. But in the bounning of the last century the conflict of foreign elements under which Bengals proto came for a time proved a source of confusion to many a writer of the period. Lexicographers and grammarians like Halbed Forster and Carey are eternally complaining in their bewilderment, of tho confusing variety and the exceedingly corrupt state of the vernacular due to its subjection to various foreign influence for the many political revolutions the country had sustained and its long European communication with men of diffe-

(4) Th European communication with men of diffewriters rent religions countries and manners

But here I course we are speaking I livar Gupta poetry and not hi prose which perh ps exhibits the modern tendencies better than a y other prose of the period

Syama Charan Gangull, Cale tta Review 18"8

See H heds and Forste s remarks quoted at pp 90- and 92 ants respectively

had impaired the simplicity of the vernacular and rendered it somewhat difficult for a foreigner. Not only

Their confusion at the diversity of the forms of the language did the pundits incorporate stiff and unfamiliar Sanscrit words and constructions and the Mohammedans various terms relating chiefly to

business, law and government, the European nations too who settled here, never failed to influence the language and naturalise into it words of European origin. Of these, the Portuguese, before the British, have left behind

them the largest traces in the country The Portuguese ele as well as in the language The ment in Bengali Portuguese extended their Bengal a little before 1530 and after temporarily settling at Betad ((406) near Sibpur, and then at Saptagram (Satgaon) they finally colonised at "Golin" (near Bandel) at about 1537 or 1538 1 In a short time, they became a formidable political power, and then wealth, daing roguery, and naval and military activity made them dicaded all over the country About the end of the 16th century they settled at Baranagar near Calcutta and soon entered the Sunderbuns, gradually spreading over Eastern Bengal, where as pirates, adventurers, and extensive dealers in slave-trade, they soon obtained a dieaded reputation 2 Their head-quarter in East Bengal was Chittagong, which, being more accessible by the sea, was called the Poito Giando, while

ফিরাঙ্গিব দেশথান বহে কর্নধান্তে রাত্রিতে বাহিমা যায় হারামদ ৬নে 🛭

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Stewart, History of Bengal, quoting (Ed 1847, p 1531) Faria Y Souza Golin has been supposed to be the same as Ugelyn, a Poituguese form of Hugli

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There is an allusion to their pilacy and their use of SANN (Armada or War ship) in the Chandī of Kabikankan—

Hugh their central colony in West Bengal was named Porto Pequeno Portuguese language came naturally with the Portoguese power and for about two centuries and a half even survived its extinction It was to quote Marsh man,1 the Lingua Franca of all foreign settlements around the Bay of Bengal and was the ordinary medium of conversation between the European and their domestres even down to so late a period as 1828. It is easy to see that such ne er-do-well adventurers as Portneuese pirates could hardly ever be expected to exert any properly literary influence and their only point of confact with Bengali was through the medium of language 2 They supplied its vocabulary with appellation of Enropean arts and invention names of many fruits herbs and trees (আনারৰ etc.) which they had brought over from South America or elsewhere certain terms of gambling Primero consist eto ) and even common everyday expressions like বেদারা জানালা ফিডা বিশ্বী জোলাপ আলমারি আলসিন বালতি গামলা তোক চাবি ব্যুগা etc. The common form of the oath ' aid a us even supposed to be a corrupt form of the name of the Virgin. It will be seen however that this Portuguese influence on Bengali was on the whole comparatively slight and it never succeeded in chaoging the carrent mode of expression nor went beyond introducing certain fresh terms into its vocabulary a

History of Berampore Miss on vol 1, pp 21 23

For an account of Portuguese Influence and Portuguese element in Bengall, see Shrips P read Patriki, vol. xviii p. 45 et eeq where a good list of Portuguese words nat railsed in Bengall will also be found See also Hobson-Jobson ed. Yule and Burnell J A Campos in his recent History of th Portuguese in Beng 1 (1919) has also given a list of Portuguese words in Be gall

The first Bengall Grammar and Dictionary was in Portuguese See p. 75  $\,$  cate

But the British influence on Bengali, owing to its

The language of the European writers (সাহেবী বা খৃষ্টানী বাঙ্গালা) permanent and all-embracing character, was more deep and far-reaching In matters of language, however, the British writers at the outset, we have seen, found themselves in an embar-

plexing diversity what models to choose or what form of the language to adopt. They however took primarily as their guide the compositions of their own munsis or pundits, which leaned towards pedantry and sanscritisation, but fortunately their strong commonsense, their literary instinct, and an innate tendency to realism, which is a distinctive feature of all English writers, saved them from the contagion of affectation and made them adopt a more simple and natural style. Their language is

Its sources

a curious admixture of the sanscritised style of the pundits (সাধুভাষা) and the

colloquial language of the people (bfooth) with some pecularities of its own and a more or less decided learning towards the latter. The missionaries and the schoolmasters, to whose rank and file belong most of the early European writers in Bengali, lived in the closest touch with the people, and their chief end in writing was not to show off their crudition but to make themselves intelligible, to be popular, clear and

Its errors in vocabul ary, syntax and idiom, but general excellence in its healthy direction towards simplicity and naturalness

useful There are, it is true, errors and excesses in their writing as vevatious as the stiffness of the Pundits, and the missionary Bengali has always been the sport of criticism. But, inspite of these and other aberrations, the gene-

nal excellence of them style in one direction at least can

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on Carey's Dialogues at p 146

never be disputed namely that it implicits previous and directness presents a triking contract to the responsibles affectation of the San crit jurbit or the mixed jargen of the Persianised mun is. Can and him conditions hought to their task, that of translation and tract writing a communation of education and edject. This was more all trained in the reverse science of theological triking it is always strove to be exact and intilligible to the people

The training of might be freely and their clyel compelled them to be freely and their clyel compelled to to be freely and the compelled to the before the compelled to the before the compelled to the freely and their clyel compelled to the before the compelled to the compelled the compelled them to be forced to the compelled them to be presented to the compelled to

ground for an infant proce in at last some wave could have been provided than the combined one of translation and polemic. The utilitarian end of these lungian writers their realities tendines, their position influence and attainment directed the whole movement to nat lesimplicity and naturalness, and it is well worthy of note that expose of the learned pundits of the boil William College through their example did not despise to a lopt example ally the popular paters of the country.

Those the will be seen that at the beginning of the 19th century there were, roughly speak ing, four different ways or modes of these four controlled of the seen of these four controlled of the seen of the seen

divergent styles and competing for mastery, namely

পতি প্ৰধা আৰাণ্ট প্ৰাৰ, তাৰি প্ৰাৰ and মাধনী মাধানা Uf these the আৰাণ্ট প্ৰাৰ (court language) in course of thise, with the general dianase and di continuance of Persian to law-courts, breams almost extinct, and her 1876 the find but little trace of it, except in a few legal technical

See for example the story of दिवसका in Mittight hyle Probablichandrika दिवस प्रदेश प्रदेश प्रदेश क्षार होता, part of with it quited auteur pp. 221 222.

publications The spoken idiom (চলিত ভাষা) favoured chiefly by the old school of writers like the Kabiwalas and used in country-places, never came into any direct prominence

which comes to a head in a general opposition between the plain and the ornate styles The only two forms of style which stood in sharp antithesis to each other in the prose publications of the time and continued to play an im-

portant part in the literary history down to the fifties, were the learned style (পণ্ডিতী ভাষা), on the one hand, and style (সাংহবী বাঙ্গালা), missionary on exclusive class of learned pundits The other still kept on in the traditional stiffness of their elaborate diction, while a host of new writers, who came into the field with the spread of English education generally the language adopted of $_{
m the}$ missionaries in and more modified form The perpetually recurring struggle between the ornate and the plain styles 2 which plays an important part in the history of prose style in almost every literature, was for the first time definitely posed and worked out in Bengali prose in this period the ornate style being favoured by the pundits and the plain style chiefly adopted by the missionary writers

This opposition becomes more well defined in the antithesis of the Alālī and the Sanscrit College styles of the fifties

The style of the pundits found a direct descendant in the Sanscrit College style of the fifties, while the  $\bar{A}l\bar{a}l\bar{i}$  style, which betokened a contemporary reactionary move-

ment, found its progenitor, through various intermediaries, primarily in the healthy movement towards simplicity and naturalness, first mangurated by the Europeans,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of whom the most prominent name is that of Rev Kṛṣṇamohan Bandyopādhāy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See pp 147, 219 20.

although secondarily it incorporated various elements from the language of the common people (ध्रान्ड छात्र) and even from the persuanced court-language (আগ্ৰান্ত ভাষা) Thus we see that this opposition between the plain and the ornate styles persistently dominated the bistory of Ben gali prose for almost half a century and reached to a crisis in the two antithetical movements of the fif ties-indicated by the Avali siyle and the Sauscrit College Synthesis in Bankim style-of which the genius of chandra. a writer like Bankimchandra alone could find a proper synthems

It will be seen therefore that from the standpoint of literary history, the importance of this period in prose is hardly less than that of any other Formal importance of this period; but its for less intrinsic But its productions marked that they

merit.

are by earliness and immaturity have far lona intrinsio No historian of literature can claim anything like literary

competency for much of this early prose if he judges it by any strict literary standard Originality is not a distinctive ment of this literature at all Grammars school books religious tracts, and

Want of originality other similar documents most of them

again mere translated pieces cannot in their very nature justly claim to be called literature. In their translations again these writers are faithful enough there is hardly any native aspiration to be free and original. Here and there, no doubt, they improved upon the capital that came into their hands but they seldom created or broke loose from their original. The style again is of the rudest character, abrupt disconnected obscure and full of anacolutha not only in the works of the missionaries whose command over the inherent resources of the lan guage must have necessarily been limited and whose repute

for erratic style is traditional, but also in the more correct and laboured treatises of the pundits, who confounded the genius of Bengali with that of Sanscrit. The divergent varieties of expression, again, not only give a comical aspect to the prose of the period but also make it difficult to fix upon general style. Style, however, in the strict and rare sense, is hardly to be No style in the profound in any of these writings, the age of literary Bengali had not yet fully dawned, although some of these writings, it must be admitted, are racy from age and agreeable from their very want of precision

When, however, we take an estimate of the sum-total of its achievements, this period of prose never fails to impress us with its importance Systematic Summary of achievements and universal prose-writing is the first thing that it accomplished and suggestion of new forms, methods, and materials is the second was indeed some amount of religious 1 and philosophical prose-writing before this but there was, as we have pointed out, no prose-of-all-work, suited to the every-day requirements of the people as well as for their literary purposes Clear, useful and popular prose-writing is a creation of this period, although we have yet to wait for another quarter of a century for the dawn of literary Bengali prose of this piose, again, to address the common people who had been only accessible by verse, is another remarkable achievement of this period It may be well pointed out that though the decay of ancient learning was lamentable in itself, it was yet fortunate in a way for Bengali, for it not only threw men back upon their vernacular but it also stimulated translation and so gave practice in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Esp on the Sahajiya form of Baispabism See Appendix I

vernacular, instead of tempting men as they had been tempted simply to abstract and compile in the learned classic tongue and even when they wrote original work, to write it in that obsolete language ! That one important limi tation namely, that of translation which had been imposed apon it still remained was no drawback for the time Indeed, translation is not so entirely an un-original thing as it seems or boasts to be, and in certain respects it is the best exercising ground for an infant prose literature which had not yet passed even through the lower stages of pupil ship We shall see, indeed, that no really good prose appeared until a long period of apprenticeship in transla tion had elapsed. Much more importation of vocabulary much more experiment in term forging much more copy ing of the more accomplished prose-forms of the Enropean languages and classic Sansent were necessary before the resources of style could be really at the com mand of the prose writer in miscellaneous subjects

The field of literary adventures again was enlarged to an extent never known before. It is true that this was essentially a period more distinguished for its

Literature of know iedge rather than literature of power

contributions to what a class of critics would call the 'literature of knowledge" rather than to the ' literature of power'; yet thera

is not a single department of useful knowledge which these European writers did not touch. History and Biography, Ethics and Moral Tales,

Variety of subject m Her

Grammar and Dictionary, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

But later on in the next decade It brought another temptation, which we have not wholly overcome and which, under the circum stances would be for some time to come a necessity in itself of writing in English.

Chemistry and Medicine everywhere we trace the indefatigable activity of the European writers It is true that most of these works were meant merely to be text-books but they are equally significant of the zeal of their authors as writers and teachers and of the encouragement which was afforded to the cause of learning The multiplication of

Grammar and Dictionary

Grammai and Dictionary, no doubt, points to a zealous movement towards the scientific study of the language,

but it must be admitted that in the lexicons compiled by European writers, undue preponderance is given to Sanscrit words and the proportion of purely native Bengali words is comparatively small while the Grammars, on the otherhand, are written mostly on the pattern of English Grammars and consequently fail to set in relief the peculiar features of the oriental vernacular. Little need be said of

History, Biography, Ethics and Moral Tales

the works on History and Biography, Ethics and Moral Tales, for almost all these writings consist of mere translation but a peculiar interest

attaches, as we have seen, to the Bengalı scientific writings of this period for their useful glossaries of technical and

difficult terms as well as for their manner and method of rendering Scientific writings scientific ideas into Bengalı. But,

besides these contributions to the department of useful knowledge, there came about, under the European influence,

a vogue for realism and social satire The popular opinion

Realism and social satire.

has always leant to the supposition that in this sphere Alal and Hutam are the pioneei works, but even long before

these works were published, from the time of Carey's Dialogues downwards, numerous works (such as Bhabānīcharan's Kalıkātā Kamalālaya or Pramathanāth Sarmā's Asla Babs Bilasa) were published which served as models for Alal and Historian and which had indeed reached a high degree of success and popularity. Another important field into which these Enropeans directed the energy of Bengali writers is that of journalism

Thanks to the courage and zeal of its promoters the difficult social and political conditions under which it was started nover retarded its growth and its long and interesting history bears witness to the enormous popularity and usefulness of this organ of popular opinion

## CHAPTER IX

## INTERREGNUM IN POETRY FROM 1760.

The closing years of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th form a period of transition from old Bengali to modein Bengali literature, and in this period, as in every period of transition, while access was obtained to new ideas and new methods, the old traditions in literature still lived on In the light of the Europeanised literature of to-day, prominence must be and has been given to European activity in Bengali Literature of this period, yet from the death of Bhaiat-chandra in 1760 to the death of Isvai Gupta in 1858, flourished a class of Bengali writers, chiefly poets, who were un-influen-

A body of indige nous literature

tained, even with declining powers, the literary traditions of the past Literary history, as a rule, is studded with such 'survivals' or 'relics,' if we may use these terms, but it is hardly correct to regard these outbursts of purely native inspiration as mere empty echoes of the past or flickering reactionary movements which the historian of literature may safely ignore. The tendencies of European of Europeanised writers may, in a sense, be described as exotic, but these inheritors of the literary traditions and instincts

ced by English ideas and who main-

representing, in contrast to the writings of the Europeans, a distinct phase of lite rary development

of the ancient iace, on the other hand, were essentially national in sentiment and expression, and as such, represent, apart from all question intrinsic excellence, a phase of lite-

rary development which we cannot very well pass over.

The literature of the first half of the 10th century is dominated in the main by two distinct tendencies the one is fostered by Enropean writers or by men tutored in European ideas and marked generally by the spirit of an intellectual aristocracy while the other derives its strength from the essence of native genius untonched by foreign ideas and expresses itself chiefly in various forms of popular literature. The one dressed in the new apparel of prose goes forth to capture the gifts of the new know ledge but the other, conveyed in the traditionary vehicle of verse, remsins content with the spiritual inheritance of the past diminished though it is with the lapse of time. The antagonism between these two tendencies though it may not be very marked in later periods, lasts throughout the literary history

Antagonism between two apposing tenden cles in the 10th century literature.

of the 10th century and in the literature of to-day although the trinmph of the new tendency is

said to be fully proclaimed yet it remains to be considered liow far this triumph has been or may be achieved without making legitimate concessions to the demands of the opposing tendency. Till the death of Isvar Gupta, in whom we find indeed the last, if not the least, valuant champion of the old race the antagonism is definitely posed and consistently worked out. With the death of Isvar Gupta we are at the end of the most effective note in the ancient frend of thought and feeling, and followers of the old tendency thereafter in struggling to maintain their own against the stronger drift of new ideas were obviously fighting for a lost cause.

Decay of the old style; but its mumitakable influence in later literature. Ever since that time the cause may indeed be regarded as lost and any attempt to-day to revive the old

style would be possibly as fatile and indiculous as the

attempt of Don Quixote to revive the expiring days of chivalry But, even though the cause was lost, its lessons were not lost, the principles for which it had fought survived and found gradual acceptance. However imperceptible the process had been, it succeeded in tempering the unlicensed Europeanisation of later literature it affoided a healthy antidote against the unchecked alienation of from national sensibilities, it represented a literature strong counter-current of purely native energy, which, if it never forced itself directly to the surface, never at the same time failed to make its subtle and wholesome influence felt. It is a mistake to suppose that the old tendency absolutely died out with the death of Isvar Gupta. It never died out but it left its enduring vitality in the current of national thought and feeling, unmistakable influence of which may be traced even in the literature of to-day The spirit of an age or race, yielding to that of its successor, continues to abide in it as an essential jugiedient, assumed, transformed and cairied forward

In an historical survey of the 19th century literature, therefore, we cannot mistake the significance of this tendency of literature, which derived its inspiration primarily from conditions of national culture which were not accessible to European or Europeanised writers of the first half of that century We must indeed give the more promnent place to European writers and those who trod in their footsteps, because it is chiefly through their efforts, aided no doubt by the hand of the foreign government, dominance of western ideas ultimately strengthened itself and gave the final bent to the form and spirit of modern literature, yet the account of the period would surely be incomplete if we do not take into consideration this stream of purely indigenous activity in the opposite direction and the extent of

its influence in moulding the literary characteristics of the age

The historical importance therefore of this inferior

The historical importance of these in digenous writers.

but not ineignificant band of writers belonging to the old school lies mainly as we have seen in the fact that whatever may be the intrinsic

value of their writings they examplify and hand down in their own way the failing inspiration of earlier days and thus maintain the continuity of literary history during the period of interregnum between the death of Bharat Chandra and the emergence of the new school Although some of them lived far into the first half of the 19th century they do not reflect the growing literary tendencies of the new era but they keep up the old manner of thought, the old fashion of imagination and the old form of expression and thus seeme the inheritance of ancient literature for the advantage of the new generation Standing as they do, on the the gateway of modern literature they give little or no presentiment of things to come they do not announce the future but they represent the past and stontly if unconsciously make their stand for a fast disappearing form of art and expression which drew its inspiration from the past life of the nation itself and which was not without its anguificance to the new life the nation was entering проп

There was a time bowever when the value of these writings was totally forgotten or ignored. They appeared

Value of this literature not to be ignored or forgotten. contemptible in the eyes of the socalled Young Bengal of the last century who had been tutored rigidly in western ideas and western literature

to the exclusion of everything national. Even to-day

it is doubtful if we have entirely outgrown this stage of defective mental susceptibility, although enties are not wanting who would go to the other extreme of fanatical admiration Isvai Gupta, in the early fifties, spoke in exuberantly enthusiastic language of the untutored songs of the old Kabis, yet if we are to take Bankim-chandra as the representative of the next generation, we find his age regarding these compositions with frank disapproval, if not always with superior contempt. In ieeent years, when we are not altogether obtuse and mesponsive, we have taught ourselves to speak in soher tone and measured language In literary history, there are no doubt extreme vierssitudes of taste whereby the idols of the past generation crumble suddenly to dust, while new favourites are raised to the old pedestal of glory, yet in spite of such successive waves of aesthetical preference, we must guard against falling into the eiioi of orthodox dogmatism, on the one hand, and the ignorant following of fashion, on the other Leaving aside personal predilections and the narrowness of sects and coteries we find critics even today who would see nothing in these forms of literature which is well worth a moment's thought. Much of this literature, as in the case of some of the songs of the Kabiwalas, is no doubt transient and ephemeral and there is certainly much in it which is really contemptible, yet the frivolity of an imitative culture or the wild pursuit of ever-shifting literary fashion ought not to blind us to the historical and literary value, whatever it might be, of the art and literature of a generation which has passed away It is idle to regard any particular form of ait or mode of utterance as final or absolutely authoritative taste should be more open-minded and unprejudiced and the study of literature should be placed upon sounder historical and scientific methods

We propose in the following pages to take these writers in the old style in the groups mentioned below

Grouping of this deal with this class of writings in minute detail it would be enough

for our purpose if we indicate broadly the phase of literary development which they represent and give a more or less general survey of their work and achievement, It may be noted here at the outset that in the case of many of these groups materials for study are extremely scanty and scattered and most of the writings which belong to this section have not been yet critically studied or edited In the case of Pāthchāls and Yātrā and devotional songe, for instance no attempt has yet been made to collect either data and materials for tracing their systematic history or even to make a satisfactory collection of these floating and fast vanishing forms of literature Under this condition of imperfect knowledge of the subject no apology is necessary for imperfect treatment and what is offered here must be taken as nothing more than a merely tentative and preliminary attempt

- (1) Kabiwalas
- (2) Nidhu Babu and writers of Tappa
- (3) Followers of Ram prasad and writers of devo-
  - (4) Followers of Bharst-chandes
- (5) Isolated followers of ancient authors Jay narayan Ghosal Raghonandan Goavami and others
  - (6) Authors of Parnekals and Tatra
  - Miscellaneous songsters.

## CHAPTER X

## Kabiwalas

The existence of Kabi-songs may be traced to the beginning of the 18th century or even beyond it to the 17th, but the most flourishing period of the Kabiwalas was between 1760 and 1850 Rāsu and Nrsimha were boin somewhere between 1731 and 1738, Harn Thākui

Chronology and classification of Kubi literature

in 1738, Nitāi Banāgī in 1717, so that between 1760 and 1780, they had all reached the height of their reputation as songsters and made

this form of literary amusement popular throughout the country During the continuance of the dual government therefore between 1765 and 1775, and in the period of literary interregium which followed upon the death of Bharat-chandra, they were the most considerable pretenders in the literary field, and if the mantle of the old authors did not exactly suit their narrow shoulders, they attempted in the main to echo the sentiment and ideas of oldworld poetry Most of these greater Kabiwalas lived into the period of British rule Rāsu and Nrsimha died between 1805 and 1807, but Haru Thakur lived up to 1812 and Nitai even beyond that to 1821 Ram Basu, though in a sense considerably junior to these earlier poets, having been boin in 1786, died early in 1828 these greater Kabiwalas, came their followers, disciples and imitators who maintained the tradition of Kabi-poetry up to the fifties or beyond it The Kabi-poetry therefore covers roughly the long stretch of a century from 1760 to 1860, although after 1830 all the greater Kabiwalas one by one had passed away and Kabi-poetry had rapidly

declined in the hands of their less gifted followers. We shall have therefore to distinguish three different periods of Kabi literature—(1) Before 1760 (2) Between 1760 and 1830 (3) After 1880

The Kabi poetry however has been subjected to an amount of harsh and even contemptuous criticism which it hardly ever deserved. The Reforming Young Bengal of the fortus considered all forms of popular amusements —Kabi 13trā, or Pājūckāli—to be contemptible. We shall

Unfavourable reception of these songs in later times. see that there had gradually come into Kabi-songs elements which were really contemptible, but what strikes one in the study of these popular

forms of literature is that throughout the 19th century, with the exception of Isvar Gupts and a few isolated appreciators of things ancient, the so-called educated men of that century hardly ever cared to make a sympathetic study much less to realise their literary or historical importance Even to-day they do not seem to have received their due amount of attention or appreciation although none but the most opinionative or the most obtase would senously consider them to be wholly worthless or wholly contemptible Inspite of the apparent uncertainty of critical determinations the historical importance of these songs apart from all question of artistic valuation cannot surely be denied. The old Kahi literature does not require an apologist to-day but it stands upon its own inherent claims to be treated in an historical survey of Bengali literature of this century

But the materials and means for a critical study of this literature are extremely Materials and means of study scanty and at the same time it is doubtful whether even much of it

can bear very well a thorough critical examination. We

at present find only scattered abroad a few fragments which may convey a knowledge of this literature but which are insufficient to familiarise us with it so as to enable us either to appreciate its beauty, construct its history or determine its value. Informations about the lives of these Kabiwalas or with regard to the general history of Kabi-poetry are extremely scanty, what remains consists of a few traditional stories, often useless and ill-authenticated

When we consider the peculiar conditions under which most of these songs were composed and the mode in which

Why the literature was not preserved,

they were transmitted we can, to some extent, understand why a very small and fragmentary part of this

literature has come down to us These Kabis were not properly speaking, leisured and accomplished men of letters, cultivating literature for its own sake, and their

Peculiar method af composition and mode of transmission

productions were not deliberate literary compositions meant for a critical audience. Their very name  $D\bar{a}md\bar{a}$  Kabi ( h = 0) indicates

perhaps the peculiar way in which they extemporised their songs, standing like a rhapsodist before a motley assembly, although it is difficult to say from what time exactly this appellation was first applied to them. The evil days of the latter half of the 18th century, we have seen, necessitated the growth of a class of "poets" whose calling had

<sup>1</sup> It seems that this epithet is very old but according to one version the epithet  $D\bar{a}\bar{m}d\bar{a}$  Kabi was applied to distinguish Kabi from  $H\bar{a}p$   $\bar{a}khd\bar{a}i$ , which was a hybrid species, formed out of Kabi and  $\bar{a}khd\bar{a}i$ , and which was therefore a kind of basā kabi (Preface to Manomohan Gītābalī, written by Manomohan Basu himself) But see Janma bhūmī, vii, p 58

now become an irregular profession and a regular means of livelihood and of a body of literature which was marked by carelessness rather than by scrupulousness and which belonged to that class of writings conveniently termed ephemeral population. The anthors had no higher ambition than that of immediately pleasing their patrons and gaining their cheap praise and pay They never cared to reach that mark of excellence which would make posterity panse before it would wilhigly let their productions perish. These songs again had generally circulated in the months of the people in course of time while some were forgotten others got currously mixed up or passed through strange transformations until as in their present extant form, they can hardly be called the genuine original works of their creator or with confidence be referred to this or that individual author. No critical appreciation or discrimination was expected and none was made. The literature was forgotten no sooner than a generation had passed away Even in 1854 Isvar Gupta lamented that most of these songs had already vanished in his time or had been fast vanishing and his self imposed task of collecting these old songs had been rendered difficult by the fact that he had to depend entirely upon the nacertain and fleeting memory of old men who had been day by day dropping away Nidhn Bahn among the earlier group-and Nidhn Bahu though a patron of ākkdās can hardly be classed as a Kabiwala-none of these poets or their followers ever cared to reduce their songs to writing Printing was hardly known in those days and if known was too expensive and difficult of access to these needy concepters yet men like Haru Thakur had rich patrons like Raja Naba Krana to whom it had never occurred that these floating songs were worth preserving. The change of taste and fashion in the next generation and the contempt with which all earlier writing had come to be regarded could hardly favour the idea of preserving or collecting this literature in any form. It is not surprising therefore that no attempt at a collection and preservation of

Our chief source of ເມໂດເກາກໄທນ

these songs had been made till in 1851, Isvai Gupta, whose poetic sympathies allied him with Kabiwalas and who himself was no mean composer of Kabi-song, first collected and published some to these half forgotten songs in the pages of his Sambād-prabhākar It is chiefly through his untiring zeal and devoted labours, ably seconded by the efforts of a few other later collectors, that we possess what remains of this Kabi-literature, for although several inferior anthologies have been made since then, most of these, with or without acknowledgment, draw liberally from the nich fund which he had supplied half a century ago and little substantial addition has been made to our knowledge ever since

It is very difficult, in the absence of materials, to trace the origin of this peculiar form Origin and growth of literature, hardly at all literary, of Kabi-poetry which expressed itself in songs but which was chiefly meant for popular amusement Most of the songs which have come down to us to a date posterior to the middle of the 18th century, in tracing, therefore, the form and spirit of this verse, as it earlier this date, we must be guided than chiefly by conjecture derived from the study of the later fragments which have been preserved as well by an examination of the general duft of the literature itself It must be noted, however, that song-literature is not a novel thing in Bengah for it had formed

a part of the social and religious life of the people and religious festivities enlivened by singing woro colehrated with a gaioty which had its mindanc side Even with the decline of Barenabism which had brought in its wake a glorious time of sweet singing and with the revival of Sakta and other forms of literature in the 18th century, the tradition of song making had nover been extinct. The Baisnabs by their peripotetic singing had spread songs broadcast leavening as they did the popular mind and although times and circumstances had changed the perennial love of song which marks Bengali literature throughout its history, always survived The political troubles of the 18th century and the social ohanges consequent thereupon naturally precluded any serene exercise of serious literature except perhaps in remote villages or in the comparatively seenre and luxprious courts of noble patrons hat the popular craving was satisfied on the one hand hy vatras painckals and other cognate forms of popular literature in which also there was always an exclusive preponderance of the song-element, and by the devotional songs like those of Ram pracid and his followers, on the other It was about this time that the Kabiwalas had come into prominence. The time was not for thought it wanted song and amusement the Kabiwalas who could give them had soon become popular

But the days of royal or other forms of patronage had been fast vanishing. The peets fallen on evil days had to depend more and more upon the favour of

the capricions and half educated public who now became their chief patrons The ruin of old zomindars and princely houses begin in the latter days of the Mohammedan rule and completed

in the carlier days of British supremacy, had brought into existence, as we have seen, a class of up-start landlords and speculators who stepped into their places but who could not be expected to possess the same inherited tradition of culture and refinement as marked the ancient aristoeracy of the land The commercial banians, seths, and merchants, on the other hand, in the new flourishing cities, now growing into importance, constituted themselves a class of pations who demanded literature, not of a fine stuff but that which could afford them momentary excitement of pleasure in the intervals of engiossing business. The new public had neither the leisure, the eapacity nor the willingness to study or appreciate any reproduction of the finer shades and graces of earlier poetry This was the audience 1 for whom, in the main, the Kabiwalas sang then songs, and it is no wonder that the tone

reacted upon it and contributed to its de basement

and temper of the literature they produced was debased through this unholy contact. This debasement was complete in the next generation when

with the spread of western education and consequent revolution in taste, these songs had been banished totally from 'respectable' society and descended to the lower classes who demanded a literature suited to their uneducated

¹ The suggestion (Dinesh Chandra Sen, History, p 697) that the low caste of the songsters show that the institution was essentially for the amusement of the illiterate rustics who formed its chief audience, is hardly borne out by facts. This form of ontertainment obtained specially in urban centres like Chandannagai, Chinsurah and Calcutta and most of the Kabiwalas were not rural rustics but men bred up in the cities. Rām Basu, Haru Thākur, Nitūi Barrūgī and indeed the whole host of them lived in Calcutta or in the neighbouring cities. Kabi poetry itself, if not completely urban, is however devoid of all stamps of rusticity

taste. This was the beginning of thend (1954) and liāp-ākkdas (राज जायहारे) in Kabi literature. In the earlier days Kabi-songs had been composed and sung in great ceremonies and festivals and the subjects of these songs generally referred to religious themes in the latter days even in the days of Nital Bairagi, Isvar Gupta tells us 'বিনিট জনেরা ভত্রগানে এবং ইতর জনেরা খেউড় গানে তুট इंटेड : and an illustrative anecdote is related with reference to Nita, which runs thus 1 448 4489 4 ব্যৱস্থানে কোন এক রম্বনীতে কোন স্থানে ইনি স্বীসংবাদ ও বিরহ গাহিয়া আদর অত্যন্ত লগাট্ট করিবাছেন তাবং ডলেই মুদ্ধ হইয়া গুনিতে-ছেন ও পুনা পুন বিবাহ পাহিতেই অন্নরোধ করিতেছেল, ভাহার ভাৰাৰ প্ৰহণে অক্ষ হইৱা হোটোলোকেরা আসরে পাড়াইরা চিৎকার পূৰ্মক কৰিল 'হ্যাদ বেল লেডাই, ফ্যার বাদি কাল্ডকিলির গান বলি তো, দো বেলাধ ৰাড় গা নিতাই ভাছেবৰে তংকৰাং মোটাভবনের খেউড় ধরিয়া ভা**র্বাদ্**লের অভিন চিত্তকে ছাছির कविरसम् ।

Not only in taste but also in theme style and diction Kaba-songs degenerated The later group of poems from

this point of view affords an interest-

Degeneration of later range contrast to the works of the kabi poetry in theme style and diction.

The contrast to the works of the carlier period. We shall have occased to the works of the carlier period. sion to speak of this matter in de-

tail but it may be noted here at the outset that a wide divergence in method manner and inspiration exists between the earber and the later groups of Kahi poetry The earlier Kahi songs were not as generally supposed, wholly unpremeditated and wanting in all sense of artistic arrangement or unity of structure, on the contrary they were all composed as we shall see with due deference as in the case of the sonnet, to definite rules of line-arrangement, general structure and thyme-ending In later times, with the introduction of lively hap-akhdar and theud, the more studied structure of earlier songs were replaced by a mode of atterance, off-hand but effective in its unexpectedness and vigorous vulgarity, defiant of all laws and lost to every sense of artistic composition We hear of the existence of disputants or two opposing 'parties' who took up different aspects of a particular theme and replied to each other in songs, even from the very earliest time when this form of amusement had spring into existence, and it was probably these passados in the bout of poetical dialectics which had lent in the popular mind a piquancy and zest to these songs and had thus made them preferable perhaps to yatras and pāmchālis which did not include such 'wit-combats' in their scope But in the earlier period, a consultation used to be held between the parties and the themes and 'replies' were made ready before they were sung It was Ram Basu, a later Kabiwala, who first introduced the innovation of extempore and free verbal fight between the parties 1 From his time, these 'flytings' of the Kabiwalas had become, in the piopei sense, unpremeditated, and as such, they had come to possess all the qualities and defects of unpremeditated compositions The unexpected turns of phrases, the clash of wittiersm, the pungent raciness of colloquial vulgarity were no doubt pleasing to the mob but what is good thetoric for the groundlings is bad for literature We can never expect any literary finish of artistic grace in compositions which the necessity of quick and witty reply had brought into existence and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prāchīn Kabi samgraha, ed Gopāl Chandra Mukhopādhyāy, B S 1284, Introduction, p n

which were meant to be more race and effective than any thing, else. Coarseness scurrility and collequalism in redeemed by any senso of artistic expression began to increase in volume and ultimately Kabi songs subsided into vulgar and abusive verbiage.

It is not surprising therefore to find that to many a modern reader Kahi hiterature connotes little more than head and had taste but it must not

Better quality of carlier Rabi poetry be forgotten that in its inception it drew its inspiration from a purer

sonre. The sincere religiousness of the eather Kabi songs is unmistakable and inspite of later importation and popularity of subjects like Biraka or

Its religious themes Sikhi-sanibād' ruligion still continued to supply the essential ingredient. Milhough thore are many things which at once mark them off from the Bai hab poets the earlier Kabiwalas were in more than one sense nearly allied to their great predecessors. When Baisnabism and its remantic literature had subsided loner and lower into a kind of decreptude in the 18th century and a militant Sakta literature of a more or less classical type had grown up the Kabiwalas in however groping fashion tried to keep up the older tradition and subsided loner which had taken shape in the 18th century and continued in the writings of Bharat Chandra was the results.

Schlierhbid was not serolar to item such things as Probling or Herry (fraction of the moral of gor Heliha moral of the mor

literature in that period, and the 18th century literature is marked throughout by an entire absence of the literary influence of the lyne and iomantic songs of Baisnah poets. The literary practice of the 18th century is a natural reaction and going back to conventional standards of verse-making, with a more or less decided leaning towards the ornate and the erndite rather than truth, fancy rather than imagination, intellect rather than feeling this becomes the mundane means of poetry, in which w e miss passionate idealism of the lyric mysticism of the Baisnabs The Kabiwalas, no doubt, were carried away more or less by this general literary drift of the period, but it was the Kabiwalas alone who had kept up the tradition of Baisnab poetry in this age of a militant literary tendency Kabi-literature, in some way or other, is connected with Baisnab literature and that the

Alliance with the Baisnab poets,

Kabiwalas, were, if not the lineal descendant, at least distantly related poets, is shown to some extent by

the fact that the best part of earlier Kabi-songs relates to the eternal Baisnab theme—the love of Rādhā and Krena with all its attendant intricacies of mān, māthur, biraha, gostha, and other things—The Kabiwalas, it is true, have not got much of the accumulated virtue of Baisnab verse and phrase as well as its deep note of passion and fulness of romantic colour, yet it is remarkable that they still make use of the imagery and the hackneyed generalities of Baisnab writings, and generally echo the sentiments and ideas which had become established in literary usage since the time of the Baisnab poets—It is not always safe to dogmatise, in the absence of evidence, on influences or on the question of literary filiation, but these facts, among others, would tend to indicate the existence of an

numistokable relationship between the Baisnah writers and the Kabiwalas. It is true that the Kabiwalas never possessed the genius and devotional fervoir of the old Baijnab poets that none of the Kabi-songs reaches that standard of literary excellence which has made Baijnah poetry so resplendent and that the Kabiwalas in course of time admitted more mandane subjects and themes and allowed themselves infinite loosoness of speech and style: yet when we come across lines like the following sung by Nitāi Bairāgī

শ্যামের বাঁথী বাজে বৃধি বিশিনে। বঁৰুর বাঁথী বাজে বৃধি বিশিনে। নহে জেন অস্ব খবলো ধ্ইলো, জ্বা ব্যবিলো প্রবাণ।

we are et once reminded of many a line from the Baisnab poets, although it is quite probable that it is not a question of direct imitation or assimilation and that none of the Kabiwalas had any straight occess to any of these older poets. The Kabiwalas were not a lettered class of studious poets they probably never had any opportunity of directly ntilising the ancient wealth of the land yet whatever might have been the source through which the tendency had filtered down, they ceho primarily in their songs the sentiment and taste of a bye-gone age, and through this inherited tendency and probably through indirect, if not direct, literary filiation, they trace their ultimate ancestry to the ancient Baisnab poets.

The theory put forward by Dinesbehandra Sen (History p 697) that Kabi-songs originally constituted parts of old ydiring, the simple operatic opisodes of which were separately worked up into this special species, is hardly convincing; for in the first place, there are no data to support this suggestion; secondly the two kinds had essentially different characteristics; and thirdly the one is not due to the break up of

It is not our purpose here to enter into details but any student of ancient Bengah Interature is well aware that Baisnab poetry cannot be very strictly described as simple and unsophisticated, for although it can to-day be enjoyed as pure poetry or as the expression of fervent religious longings in the language of human passion, it can never

The spirit of Baistab poetry and its psycho logical and metaphysical formalism be regarded as the spontaneous product of an uncritical and ingenuous faith. This religious-amatory poetry presupposed a psychology and a

metaphysic which had been reduced to an elaborate system and which possessed a peculiar phinscology and a set of concerts of its own The 10mantie commonplaces Baisnab poetry, familiar to any reader not only through its poetry but also through elaborate rhetorical treatise-like Ujjvala-Nīlamani or elaborate semi-metaphysical works like Sat-sandarbha oi Hari-bhakti-rasāmi la-sindhu, are in a sense factitious, professional and sectairan, if not doctimane or didactic Many of the famous Baisnab poets, no doubt, got out of their conventional material the kind of effect which appeals to us most strongly and there is the sheer force of poetic inspiration in many of them which lifts their poetry into the highest level of aitistic utterance, yet all the floods of their lyiic and iomantic idealism cannot altogether cover then psychological formalism, then rhetoric of oinament and conceits, their pedantily of metaphysical sentimentalism. The endless diversity of amorous condition grouped conveniently under man, mathur,

the other as both existed simultaneously throughout the course of their literary history. The other theory ( $Janma\ bh\bar{u}m_1$ ,  $v_1$ , p 58) that Kabi was originally a part of  $P\bar{a}mch\bar{a}l_1$  is more or less open to similar objections. The exact significance of the term  $P\bar{a}mch\bar{a}l_1$  itself is uncertain, what character it possessed in earlier times is not definitely known

biraka pārbarāg milan and the like is treated no doubt with emotional directness but they subside into agreeable formulas and dogmatio shibboleths Leaving aside indi vidual independence of trait so marked in poets like Bidvapati Chandidas or Januadas, when we come to the legion of lesser lights we find that, although these minor poets share more or less in the general poetic spirit pervading the age there is you a monotonous sameness of characteristics inevitably suggesting a sense of artificiality In spite of its romantio charm and lyric affluence the themes and subjects of this poetry lacked variety and exuberance of inventive thought. We meet over and over again with the same tricks of expression the same strings of nouns and adjectives the same set of situations, the same group of concerts and the same system of emotional analysis. In the greater poets, the sentiment is refined and the expression sofficiently varied in the lesser poets, they degenerate into rigid artistic conventionalities. When the Kahiwalas came to inherit the apiritual estate of their poetical ancestors Baisnah poetry had

imperfectly communicated to Kabi poetry been reduced almost to a mechanic art its conceptions had become

stereotyped and its language conventional. But its faith its religious enthusiasm had by that time filtered down through all the crudities of its surroundings into a simple inquestioned and habitual form of religiosity. Its spiritual essence alone survived its commonplaces and conceits, its pedantry and formalism had leat much of their force and had become effete conventionalities. Although Kabi poetry in its theme and diotion is generally conventional and mechanically reproductive yet it concerns itself ohiefly with the essential significance of Baisnab poetry its devotional fervour its emotional appeal and not directly with its metaphysical or psychological banklites. It is

the habitual and unreflecting faith of the people, unaffected

Kabi poetry is not cultured, factitious or sectarian

by any scholastic or sectarian prepossessions, that supplied the chief ingredient of Kabi-poetry. In this sense, Kabi-literature is neither scho-

None of the Kabiwalas was literate enough to enter into the intricacies of emotional or metaphysical subtlety nor had they any sectarian tradition behind to implant in them anything other than its simple spiritual significance which had percolated and spiead down even to the masses. They had taken Baisinabism en masse and not in its details, in its essence and not in its accidents, though they tacitly accepted and mechanically repeated its concerts and its imagery, its time-honoured dogmas and doctimes

It would be unjust to institute a comparison between the Baisnab lyries and the songs of the Kabiwalas, but it must be noted that the latter in many cases debased and vulgarised, while they borrowed, the ideas and conceptions of Baisnab poetry One particular section of Baisnab poetry, remarkable for its passion and its poetic quality, which is generally grouped under the heading of Prema-barchitta (প্রেম্বৈচিত) is practically non-existent in Kabı-literature Unable to enter into its subtlety, its romantic fervour and its mystic spiritualism, the Kabiwalas could not speak in the same raptulous accents not with the same nobility of sentiment. It is true that both these species of literature were never intended originally to be literature at all, they never consisted of deliberate literary

Kabi-poetry is not a deliberate literary creation of self-conscious artists creation by self-conscious artists Religious enthusiasm, on the one hand, and popular amusement, on the other, supplied the motive of its

making in each case, and in so far as each species adhered

to this original motive each assumed its distinctive character The peculiar conditions under which it was produced modified the form and tendency of the production of each kind But while under the stress of a new born religious fervour and its lyric and mystic idealism the creations of Baisnab poets were lifted into the region of pure poetry, the more mundane object and secular interest of the Kabiwalas dragged them down to a dead level of uninspired commonplace It is indeed very doubtful whether a great deal of Kabi poetry can, with the utmost allowance be regarded as strictly literary so deeply had the peculiar condition of its making affected the character of its produc

It was primarily a form of popular amusement.

Kabi poetry must be primarily trou regarded as a form of popular amusement affording no doubt an interesting field of study to the student of

social history but hardly to be considered by the historian of literature except in so far as it rises to the level of liferature

Although essentially a popular form of amusement composed chiefly by popular poets and transmitted through oral tradition yet it must be noted that Kahi sougs hardly

But it is not atrictly folk literat re or popu lar poetry

bear any resemblance to what may be strictly called folk literature or popular poetry It would be a mustake to compare them for instance to the

medieval European ballads either in form or spirit The Kahi literature no doubt possesses the same dramatic or mimetic qualities and oboral peculiarities but they lack the condition of communal composition which is essential to balladry and the poetical content is not, as in belladry narrative nor is it submitted to an opic process of transmission It is not simple anonymous and objective in the sense in which the ballads are but it bears all the marks of individual authorship and all the conventionalities of a literary tradition, it has never shown, in its growth and development, any tendency towards the romance, the story or the eliminele so as to take it out of its original diamatic and choral structure The songs of the illiterate Kabiwalas no doubt enter into a vital rapport with the people who compose the nation, the people who are far more puissant and important in national lustory than the so-called enli-At the same time, if they constitute vated minority popular poetry at all, they represent only a very narrow type of that species for the true function of popular poetry is the interpretation of the people to themselves and and the creation of a popular ideal, which function these songs discharge only partially, while the forms and expressions of this literature are much less the property of the race than of the individual These poets were no doubt born among the people1, lived with the people and understood perfeetly then ways of thinking and feeling, hence then direct hold upon the masses of whom many a modern writer is contentedly ignorant But these poems, meant for popular entertainment and bearing a close contact with the people, hardly ever speak of the people themselves and possess little or no democratic sympathy or exaltation

It is the product of a conventional literary tradition

are thoroughly preoccup ed with the conventional themes of earlier poets, though their treatment may be a little popular, and they even express

themselves in conventional diction and imagery They

<sup>1</sup> Kabi poetry counted its votary amongst the lowest classes Except Hain Thakur, Rasu and Nrsimha, Ram Basu and a few others, the Kabiwalas belonged to the lowest social grades of a muchi (shoemaker), a mayara (sweetmeat vendor), a chlintai (carpenter), a feringi (nalf-bred Eurasian), svarnakār (goldsmith), a tānti (weaver), etc. In this catholicity it resembles Baisnabism itself

have got a literary tradition behind them the banalities of which they cannot always transcend and overstep into true democratio poetry

But this literary tradition they had modified in their own way, particularly through circumstances and conditions under which they composed and over

representing a place of decadence of the earlier art. which they had no control and partly through an inherent lack of a thorough grasp upon the realities of old poetry

The themes which they handled had possessed in the hands of older poets, qualities capable of evoling a great art but the less exalted treatment of the Kahiwalas could hardly work them up into new shapes of beauty with sufficient power and subtlety. It was their misfortune to represent an essentially decadent art. Ivery literaturo to speak in metaphorical language which must not be strained, passes through the necessary stages of birth growth decline and death. In these metrical exercises of the Kahismlas we see not the adult manhood of old litera ture but its senile decrepitude. The poetry is reminiscent rather than spontaneous it is reproductive and imitative rather than, in the true sense creative. It is true that most of the songs which the Kabiwalas extemporised were unsought and unpremeditated yet in their homage to old world conventions in style theme, and literary treatment. they belonged to a decaying dynasty the prestige of which, in spito of their belated efforts had been fast vanishing

But even in their imitativeness, they could not always reproduce the fine shades and graces of old poetry its

Its inability to reproduce the finer shades and graces of earlier poetry woight its elevation and its profundity. There are many things, no doubt, in Baijnab padālalis which are not in any sense commeedable, but in

their places and as a part of the whole they may pass

off without much incongrinty. But in the songs of the Kabiwalas these things, severed from their true relations and from their natural surroundings of beauty, assumed an incongruous independence and a distorted shape, incompatible with artistic or spiritual excellence, especially as it is often diessed in weak phraseology.

The spirit of ancient poetry inadequitely represented

and loose versification. The Barsnab poetry unfolds before our vision such an extensive realm of beauty that its occasional deformities and blemishes

state artistically inconsistent. Apart from all questions of spiritual interpretation, the ideal of love depicted in Bar-nab poetry may have, from a layman's stand-point, departed in places from the strictness of propriety or decoum, but if after a study of the poetry in its entirety, a man does not rise with an impression of its beauty and nobility, then the conclusion is obvious that either he has not read it properly or that he is impervious to all sense of its excellence. In the infinite varieties of amorous situation, the description of Rādhā as a khandītā herome or of Krsna as an arch-deceiver may have, leaving aside other explanations, an artistic justification of enhancing the beauty of this poetry by adding to it an element of playful

An instance drawn from Kabiwalas' conception and treatment of Radha and Kṛsna toying (chhalanā) or wayward vagary (bañchanā) or even a sterner element of distressing porgnancy, yet whatever may be the interpretation, it certainly does not dwarf our concep-

tion of the finer spirit of Baisnab poetry Ignoring the considerations of sensual presentation or spiritual explanation, the central and essential idea of Baisnab poetry, embodied in the conception of Rādhā's kalanka, has an emotional suggestion of its own, which adds an element

of intensity and cornestness to the love of Badha as the type of a herome who foregoes all for love In the poetry of the Kabiwalas these elements revered from their natural context and regarded by themselves assume the somewhat repellent intensity of importin at interest. Having real used full well that the depth and beauty of Baranab poetry were beyond themselves or their authence they had selected and isolated for representation only those portions of it which would appeal more directly by their effective but transient vulgarity. The Kabiwalas therefore give consciously or unconsciously more prominence to kalenka and chhaland over anything else of Baisnab love-noetry and these elements in their incongruous context are often presented with such anadorned boldness and repulsive relief and with such ill suited lightness of touch that they become in the end thoroughly inartistic Krana s wantonness is carried to a frivolously forhidding extent and Radha's sense of the affront thus dealt out by the unfaithful lover is marked by a singular lack of self respect and sense of dignity. The process is the process of dethroning a god for the purpose of humanising a sconndrel.

Radha and her companions are eternally complaining with all the silliness of plaintive sontimentality of the endless amours of the ever deceifful lover but after all she takes them very lightly and no great persuasion is necessary to reconcile her in the end to her lover. She laments she weeps but her laments are hollow and her tears are idle. The apologist may contend that all these are mere forms of divine sportiveness ( (वना इन जनाना) and that we must not judge them by seenlar standards. But we must guard against bringing in spiritual considerations in extension of artistic madequacy although we cannot it is true altogether steer ourselves clear of the

question of spiritual interpretation. There is no doubt the dictum of the author of Ujjvala-Nīlamani that what is time of Śrikrsna is not time of the ordinary lovei but even Rūpa Gosvāmī himself admits Kisna is conceived as the ideal lover, natachūdāmani 2 or rasika-šekhara <sup>8</sup> It is not our purpose here enter into any discussion of the inner significance of Baispab poetry or its metaphysical conceptions, what is intended here to be stated is that from the layman's standpoint of artistic criticism, the abhiman of Radha, as we often find it in the songs of the Kabiwalas, has got haidly any reality in it nor has the love of Krsna any deep-rooted strength of feeling which alone would have lifted it into the highest sphere of poetry. So long as the herome realises that she possesses a strong hold upon her lover's love, the interruption of its smooth course through occasional sportiveness or incidental vagary adds a peculiar charm to the elements of abhiman, but when the offence is great and involves faithlessness and disgrace which strikes at the very root of the passion itself, the heroine dishonours heiself when she takes it lightly or sits down to villifying, complaining or indulging in a sentimental process of claborate abhiman Such things hardly possess any appeal artistic or otherwise, and as such should hardly find a place in nobler types of poetry.

One or two illustrations will make out the point we are trying to indicate. Here is a song of Rām

<sup>1</sup> Ujjvala Nīlamani, 1 18 21 (Nirnaya Sāgar Ed., pp. 11 24)

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid, loc cit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kṛṣṇadās Kubirāj's commentary of Silhisna Kaināmrta on Si 1, 3, 11 etc. This epithet is common enough in Baisnab works

Basu in which Rūdhū is speaking as a khanditā herome!

সাধ কলে করেছিলান চর্ছর মান শ্বানের ভার হল অপ্যান। শ্যানকে সাধ্যেম বা ফিলে চাইলেম বা কণা কইবেন না হেখে মান।। ক্রম সেই রাগের অবরাগে রাগে রাগে গো পতে পাছে চন্দাবনীর নববারো। ছিল পুর্ব্বের যে পূর্বারাণ নাবার একি অপুর্বারা পাছে রাগে শামে রাধার আদর কলে বার s শ্যাম কাল মান কবে গেছে, কেমন আছে দৃতি ছেনে শাহ। করে আমারে বলিতে গেল কাব কুল্পে বলিতে হরে পরিতে মরি হরির প্রেনের লায়। ছলে বৃধি মন ছলে গেছে স্থান্তার ঃ মাপে বৰিবে মন দরে থেকে চপে দেশে গো কৰ কিনাকর হপা চেকে। বছি কাততে কণা কর তবে নর মঞ্গর অমনি সেধ গো ধরে চটি রাহা পার॥ যার মানের মানে আমার মানে সে না মানে ত্ত্বে কি ভোৱনে এ যানে। মাব্ৰের কত মান, না হর ভার পরিমাণ মানিনী হরেছি বার মানে।। বে পক্ষে বখন বাভে অভিযান সেই গকে বাগতে হর নদান। রাণতে শ্যামের মান গেল পেল মান খানার কিনের মান খপনান।।

Sankbad Probhībar Āfric 1231 p 4 ; Piachī A b sangraha pp. 31-32 ; Gupte at oddhār pp 101-106 ; Sangīl-nara-sangraha rol. II pp 1001 1002; And then consider how the companions of Radha, in a tone bantering but shamelessly humiliating to themselves, are entreating the shame-faced false lover now seated comfortably in Mathuia

কও কথা বদন তোল, হও সদয এই ভিন্মা চাই।
বাধাব অধৈর্যো এলাম আপার্যো,
তোমাব কংসবাজ্যের সংশ নতে আদি নাই।
অধােমুথে যদি থাক শাান কুবুজাব দােহাই॥
তোমাব সহাস্য বদনে নাই বংস্যা,
কেন মাধ্য আজ দাসীব প্রতি উদা্যা,
চাক চন্দ্রাস্যা নহে প্রকাশ্য, নেন সর্ব্বন্ধ নতে এলেন ভাবছ তাই॥

And here is a piece of undisguised raillery by Kubjā the new mistress

কুবুজা কহিছে তুনি বাজা এই মধুভূবনে।
বাজাব উপবে বাজা আছে আগে জানিনে॥
ওহে গোবিন্দ বড দল ২তেছে,
কবেছ প্রেমধাব তুমি কোন্ বমনীব কাছে।
তুমি কবে কাব দাসম্ব, পেবেছ বাজম্ব,
সে তত্ব জান্তে এসেছে তোমাব॥
আছে থং নে পথে বসে, কে বমনী সে,
শ্যাম কি ধাব কিছু তাব।
ংয়ে আমাদেব ভূপতি, ওহে যত্ত্পতি,
কোটালী কবেছিলে কোন বাজাব॥
থতে লেখা আছে, ও শ্রীহবি,
থাতক ত্রিভঙ্গ শ্যাম, মহাজন এজকিশোবী।
মনে জাতক কবি ওই, ত্রিভঙ্গ গুন কই,
তোমা বই চেবা সই আব হবে কাব॥ (বামবস্ক)²

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prāchīn Kabi-samgraha, p 35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid pp 35 36

And lastly listen to the ingenious but hardly authentic justification of the false lover by himself !

আমি কাৰ্য্য কোনানই গুক্তাবীন রগন্ধী ভক্তকোনভাবে বাহা মন।
ছিল রাবণের গংহাররা এই পুরুষা করাজ্ঞরে সাই।
করে বাগনা পেতে আমার দিরেছিলান বব তার
হরে রক্ষরণ কুর্বার তার বীবন।
তনিলে স্থীত সকল বিবরণ হ
বাতিশত সই ছিলান পুরুষার
সেই বাতিজ্ঞা সুরাহে পাবের এল হতে
আনিতে ক্ইরাহে মুব্রার।
তা বলে বুন্দে স্থি ব্রোনা অর্থার ত্র্থী
ভাবি রাহ্যার বিভাবে নটক করন n

It is needless to comment on the tone and spirit of these passages but the history of love revealed in their conrise will sufficiently indicate the extent to which the Kabi walas debased the tenderness passion and spirituality of earlier Baisnab poetry.

This spiritual inadequacy of the songs of the Kabiwalas necessarily involved a lowering of the literary ideal. There is no doubt here and there in Rim

Lowering of the literary ideal Basu or in Haru Thūkur, a desire for nobler utterance yet generally speaking the entire mentality of

the Kabi poets was never of a superior order They are artists who still handle worn-out themes in old formal ways without the earlier grasp upon them without fervour of conviction and without anything of perceptive delicacy Some of the Kabiwalas no doubt,

were men of high natural endowments but they moved less freely within a narrow and degenerated sphere of thoughts and ideas. The mental attitude of their audience and submission to its influence no doubt proved unwholesome to the growth of their poetry, but they themselves were incapable of interpreting life in any large and original way and therefore limited themselves, wisely or unwisely, to ministering chiefly unto the ennously uncritical habits of the time which demanded nothing more than the transient excitement of cheap thetone and cheap ideas. In the period in which they flourished, men had been deprived of a free political and social life, a central capital, the peace and seemity of an ordered existence and other conditions adequate to the intellectual requirements of an expansive literature The old style having fallen into decay, the literary ideal could never be very high nor were the opportunities abundant enough for unfolding whatever potentialities this poetry possessed

The Kabi-literature, therefore, among its erowd of agreeable poems, had produced very few master-preces, very few works of superb genius destined to immortality There is a carelessness, a want of balance, a defect of judgment in the choice of materials and then management, a sloven-Artistic madequacy liness of execution throughout the work of this period Care and grace of style can be expected in the literary craftsman who writes down his thoughts at leisure, for he can rewrite his sentences, recast his phiases, remould stanzas, thus achieving the proper art of style, but the Kabiwalas, who were hardly a lettered class of leisured writers, could never find abundance of time or patience to court the lugubious muse They made use of whatever poetic talents they

possessed in contributing to the transient amasement of a hardly less illitorate public and their forensio style, which can only be elevating when the inspiration itself is noble, naturally resulted in a dead level of the common place or the conventional

To arrest the fugitive attention of the andience, the Kahiwalas make abundant use of the borrowed tricks of conventional rhetoric. It is certainly true that out of ten verses even whole stanzas may be found which do not lack power but, generally speaking beauty and refinement vield place to a constant striving after effect to an attempt at clever and spirited improvisation wanting entirely in strength art, or polish, though

Its affeciation and artificiality

capable through its effective forensic qualities of awakening the casily excitable popular enthusiasm They

composed too fast to compose well and thou critical sense was not sufficiently strong to save them from all the faults of fatal fluency and fertility Hence we find the fault of repetition frequency of stock phrases monotony of identical form and idea singular baldness children jingle of weakly though effective words which are unavoidable in oral composition but which appear dull and flat in reading. The sentiment is too often trite and the ideas conventional and the author in his futile attempt to disgnise his want of originality hy frequent affectation and constant use of stilted devices, becomes thoroughly artificial and unconvincing One of the tricks which is peculiarly favoured by the Kahiwalas for the purpose of impressing upon the fickle sonsibilities of an anemical Its habit of punning and use of al

andience is the excessive use of alliteration and pnn When used

with moderation and indement alliteration is no doubt

one of the most useful ornaments of poetical expression and it has not yet lost all its chaim in poetry, but the Kabiwalas succumbed to the delusion of imagining that alliteration and punning are the chief ends of poetry. It is needless to cite instances, when instances are so abundant but the following passage<sup>1</sup> as well as the passage quoted at p 323 will sufficiently indicate the excess to which this principular habit was carried

গেল গেল কুল কুল, যাক্ কুল, তাহে নই আকুল।
লয়েছি যাহাব কুল সে আমাবে প্রতিকূল।
যদি কুলকুণ্ডলিনী অপ্নকুলা হন্ আমায
অকুলেব তবী কুল পাবে পুনবায।
এখন ব্যাকুল হবে কি প্নকুল হাবাবো সই।
তাহে বিপঞ্চে হাসিবে বত বিপুচব॥ (বামবস্থ)

Even sometimes in these strivings after alliterative appeal, the poet completely sets at defiance even ordinary rules of grammar and composition

একে নবীন বৰ্ধ তাতে স্থপত্য কাব্যবনে বিদকে।

মাধুৰ্য্য গান্তীৰ্য্য তাতে দান্তীৰ্য্য নাই

আব আৰ বৌ বেশন ধাবা ব্যাপিকে।

অধৈৰ্য্য হেবে তোবে স্বজনী ধৈৰ্য্য ধবা নাহি যায়॥ ²

Leaving aside a few deservedly popular pieces which indicate a desire for untrammelled and spontaneous utterance, we find throughout the work of the Kabiwalas an abuse of the imagination and of the intellect. It cannot be defined indeed that some of the Kabiwalas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sambād Prabhākar, Āśvin 1261, p 11, Gupta ratnoddhār ed Kedār nāth Bandy opādhyāy, p 151, Prītigīti, p 474

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Quoted in Sādhanā, 1302 BS, pt n p 65

possessed undonbted poetin powers hut they often neglected natural centiment and made an exhibition of artfulness. The founts of earlier inspiration had been failing and poetry itself coming to be regarded as the means of displaying elaborate conceits extra vagant fancies bold metaphors and excessive hyperboles. Many of these poets are martyrs to verbal nicety Fanny is preferred to sense and exuberance of imagery to chastened style. That the education of the Kabiwalas lanked in scholastic strictness produced one good effect. no doubt, namely that whenever they turned to familiar themes or depended upon their natural genius, their poetry was marked by a sincere homeliness and a swinging and dashing lyrism rare in the precise and meditative utterances of latter-day poets yet this very lack of training fostered to them a false and uncritical taste in the choice of poetical ornaments and a singular indifference to the value of artistin restraint. Their

Its diffuse and in inflated, if not trate or given to futile adorning of trivialities and it is very

seldom that we meet with sustained flights of condensed, poignant and forcible interance. There are very few songs which are impeccable in every line or studied in every phrase not to speak of the obvious faults of rhyme rhythm and metre. The extreme fluency and prolixity of the Kabiwalas stood effectually in the way of their attaining well balanced artistic effect. The poet is very seldom able to sustain his inspiration from the beginning to the end of his composition. In the beautiful song of Nitai Bauagi already referred to the sustain of the sustain of the sustain already referred to the sustain of the sustain

Sahdid Preddinar Agradsyan I 1231 p 7; Kodirostih Bandyopiddysy Gupta-rainodddina, p. 176; Radioyddidgor Gil, p 61; Sangil-săr-sangraha II, 1017; Priti-yiti p. 829 বঁধুব বাঁশী বাজে বুঝি বিপিনে। भारत्य वाँभी नाट्य वृक्षि निश्रिल ॥ নহে কেন অন্ন অবশো ইইগো स्रधा विविदिशा खेवरण ॥ ব্ৰক্ষডালে বসি পঞ্চী অগণিতো জডবতো কোন কাবণে। ব্যুনার জলে বহিছে তবঙ্গ তক হেলে বিনে প্রবনে ॥ একি একি সথি একি গো নির্বাহী मिथ मिथि भव शिधान। ञ्रुलिस यम्पा नाहि थाग्र ज़्ला আছে বেন হীন চেতনে।। হায়, কিনেবো লাগিয়ে বিদবণে হিয়ে डिंकि हनकिएस अवरन । অক্সাতো একি প্রেনো উপজিলো मिल्ला विश्व नम्रतन ॥ আবো একদিন শ্রামেবো ঐ বাদী বেজেছিলো কাননে। কুলো লাজো ভয়ো হবিলে ভাহাতে মবিতেচি গুৰুগঞ্জনে ॥

the beginning and some of the concluding lines are fine but we are left with a sense of inadequacy with regard to the whole and individual parts of the song. There are queer ups and downs in artistic execution, and the poetical inspiration is not kept up uniformly throughout. Those who pin their poetical faith upon "patches," the great mass of Kabi-songs presents examples of certainly great beauty

but taken as a whole, the poetry is unequal in menit and

aide by side with higher flights, there are depths of bathos hardly to be paralleled. The common allurements of narrative interest of varied subject or of striking idea are so rare in this poetry that it is necessary for the poet to screw his inspiration always to the sticking place so that he may not fail But to reach the full white heat. the steady blaze of poetic emotion is not oniformly possible with these poets, and therefore it is not surprising to find a large amount of tolerable and even flat and insipid verse obtaining side by side with songs of intensely moving quality Coming to the less inspired later Kabiwalas we find in them a bold use of colloqualism which is sometimes appealing no doubt, through its veracity and raciness but which very frequently degenerates into unlicensed slang or unredeemed verbiage one would seriously contend, for instance that the following lines of Bhola Mayara though may and ingenious contains a single spark of poetry

> নাটুর নীচে নাড়্ নড়ে খাচ্চ্ নর ভাই। বুশাবনে বসে দেব বস্থ বোবের রাই।। বোন্টা বুলে চোন্টা মারে কোন্টা বড় ভারি। তিন সম্ফে সমা গার, বান্ছে তক সারি।। বাবা নেবের বেটা হোগো ননাবনার টাদ। আইনি লবাব দাও নইলে বাববে বড় কাদ।।

But so spite of this artistic imadequacy of Kabi poetry, it should never be relegated to the lumber room of hterary curiosity—nor is this poetry

Its lack of superka qualities but its true poetic spirit to be dismissed as a mere paraphrase of the commooplaces of Baisnah poetry. It is true that the works

of the Kabiwalas hardly exhibit any profuedity, poignancy, or weight. It is not marked by supreme

of imagination of expherence of inventive thought. These poets have none of the disturbing tyranny of violent presion of the cestatic elevation of superior inspira-But, after all is said, it cannot but be admitted that some of the despised Kahiwalas in c poets and not poetical curosities, and that if Kabi-poetry does not always attain a lightlevel of poetical excellence, the level it occasionally reaches is striking enough as a symptom of the presence of the true poetical spirit which it is often impossible to detect for years together in other periods of literary history often persons Even in the emphatically minor Kabiwalas quite unknown or unimportant in literature as persons come across chaiming things, lines and phrases and stanzas of exquisite beauty, indicating a general diffusion of the poetic spirit which had made even such inferior songsteis beautifully articulate.

One important and characteristic feature of Kabipoetry consists in the fact that characteristic although it was in no sense popular quality of Kabi-poetry poetry dealing, as it did, with conconventional form yet it expressed, ventional themes in through its poets who were of the people, what the people had of the noblest Its expression of popular feelings and sincerest as well as of the grossest, and in virtue of this it could be appreciated by the people at large It may be true that popular appreciation is not the sure touchstone of poetic quality, yet we would lapse into the error of academical dogmatism if we do not take into account the hold which this poetry possessed upon the popular mind as one of the important factors in our consideration. It is salutary as well as significant that no abrupt line divided the poets from the huge uncultivated populations, often contemptuously set down as "the masses" Even while

dealing with the conventional Baisnab themes Kahi poetry is marked by the sincere and maffected religious-

ness of the popular mind if not always by the true spirit of Baisnab hterature. In art in ideas in poetical

inspiration the Kabiwalas may not be regarded as the true inheritors of ancestral genius yet in honest religion feeling, in sound and simple faith they do not compare unfavourably with their great predecessors. But it is not here that we find the genius of Kabi poetry finding its fullest scope. The conditions under which it might have become a legitimate development of Baisnab-poetry had been non-existent and, fortunately or unfortunately, Kabi poetry had comounder conditions and influences totally different. The excellence of habi poetry rests therefore not so much upon its relianding of older themes but upon its presentation of less protentious but more homely and natural themes which if there poets were not the first to treat they were at least the first to work up with considerable effectiveness. Ram Basn's treatment of the themes of biraka and agamani is widely known and deserves its reputation but in these, among other themes not Rum Basu alone but most of the Kabuwalas excelled and found a congenial scope for the display of their natural poetical genius. It is not, however in the themes themselves so much as in the treatment that the charac teristic feature of Kabi poetry is seen at its best. We shall have to come back to this point later on; but it may

Naturalness and sincerity of its bircha songs. be noted here that these songs, in their sincere force of natural passion and affection and in their simple observation of common things form

a class by themselves the value of which can never be over-estimated, although most of them have been so hackneyed to us in various ways or have been so queerly dressed in a diction, long out of fashion, that even respectable critics have been led to treat them with unfergned contempt proverbially associated with familiar things In these breaka songs, however, the note of simplicity and sincerity is unmistakable. There is no thinking about thinking or feeling about feeling, but honest human passion is expressed with a clear vision and with exquisite directness of speech These poets sang no longer of the loves of Rādhā and Krsna or find in them a suitable frame-work for voicing their individual or universal human sentiment They sing of natural human beings, often of themselves, and of the naturalistic human passion, and then expression of the triumph and despan of love, if somewhat crude and even gross, is not sicklied over with reflectiveness as in most modern poets. In the agaman? songs, again, the domestic atmosphere of a Bengali home

Tenderness and human interest in agamani songs which find expression in the picture of Menakā the mother and Umā the daughter, creates a peculiar charm of sweet and tender homeliness which is rare in modern poetry. These few

This trait also expresses itself in the goştha of Salhīsambād where Yaśodā is generally speaking to the boy Kṛṣṇa It cannot be determined how far in their bhabānī biṣayak songs, the Kabiwalas influenced or were influenced by the writers of devotional ditties who flourished by their side There is, however, considerable similarity of trait between the mālsi of Rām prasād and his followers and the āgamanī of the Kabiwalas, who were undoubtedly influenced by the special āgamanī or bijayā songs of Rām prasād or Kamlākānta Similarly there is some general resemblance between the biraha songs of the Kabiwalas and the love lyrics of the tappā-writers. There must have been some amount of mutual influence and it is quite possible that both these represent phases of a certain humanising tendency of the literature of the age in which they flourished

wood notes may lack refinement and polish but they are exceedingly tender, simple and human And it is by force of its tenderness, its simplicity, and human interest wherever these qualities may be found, that Kabi poetry is so appealing. In their form, again, these songs possess not much of stylistic grace and their bold use of colloqualum is often have and unadorned yet the veracity of the vernacular and the raciness of the spoken idiom impart to these songs a charm of their own, easy, direct and simple vet plastic and artful to their very want of art.

It will be amply clear from this that Kahi poetry cannot be regarded merely as a belated product of the Baisnab echool although in a distant way it attempted to carry on the older tradition

Its permanent literary value

It possesses characteristic trut of ite own which marks it off as a distinct though not independent type of national utterance If it is not music yearning like a god in pain it is charac terised by full throated case and robust healthy mentality at least in certain spheres. Higher flights of poetry were nasuited to its hard and narrow environment, the rambling life of its votages stored their minds with little learning or culture; they indulged in metrical exercises partly as the means of earning livelihood under the not-too-liberal patronage of the isolated anstocracy of the priests and the princes of the plain democracy of poor peasants in the remote villages, of the respectable middle class of thrifty merchants and benians in the crowded cities Though the roar of the cannon at Plasses or Udaynala was but heard faintly by them and they were quite oblivious of the world around them living and moving in an isolated social world or a conventional poetic world of their own: yet the latter half of 18th century with its

confused energy, diffused culture and political, social and mental chaos did not demand not could inspire a literature of great value. There was hardly any leisure for senious writing, what was wanted was trifles capable of affording excitement, pleasine and song. This poetry, therefore, was never meant for a critical audience, and critical sense or practised art the Kabiwalas hardly possessed any. They lacked ideas and ideal utterance and were constantly hampered by the incubus of a conventional literary tradition. there is a good deal of sad stuff in their verse-impromptu. all this and more is admitted But inspite of these drawbacks and difficulties, Kabi-poetry, in its best aspect, is an entirely homespun production, kindly, genial and indulgent, capable of awakening and keeping popular enthusiasm and possessing simplicity and liquidity of utterance which draws its bone and thew and sinew from the language and ideas of the people themselves who begat them and with whose central life-force they have an unconscious and spontaneous rapport. If it is not popular poetry in the time sense of the term, being mainly derivative and reproductive, its contact with the people, while debasing its nature in certain respects, gave it at the same time a lobust and healthy character and a sincere homeliness unaffected by literary prepossessions. Kabi-poetry, therefore, is of a complex character and defies all systematic analysis or rigid labelling as a recognised species to be put into a definite pigeon-hole marked out by the literary critic. Its merit is simplicity and its importance lies in the fact that although the Kabiwalas were meapable of producing the highest type of poetry or painting life broadly or powerfully, they served literature in their simple and homely way by furnishing a stimulus to the emotional life of the country They succeeded very often in piercing through the gauds and

triminings of an effeto literary tradition and coming direct to the possion and omotion which throb and pulsate in the individual. The ground on which they tread is as

Its common univer

plain and simple as that which the peasant dails treads upon with his uncouth feet—vot it is from this

common and universal soil that they draw their bracing and genial character. The Kabiwalas may not be the affluent inheritors of the spiritual estate of their ancestors but the apparently trifling things of art which had come down to them as their heir looms served amply for their ministakable inergina of rank and status. With thousand and one faults to its credit the interest arising from the study of Kabi poetry is not except to the charlation or the bitues the undesirable interest which aprings from the contemplation of superlative crudity and although universal popular appreciation as we have already stated is not the true test of poetic merit such popular valuation is not too be whelly rejected as a false index by the pedantry of cultured criticism.

Again it must be borne in mind that most of these compositions were songs and not line poems and must be judged as such. It is not possible nor desirable to estimate the value of songs by the standard by which we consider poetical compositions. We must appreciate a song through the ear and not feel it with the eve

Its quality as songs and not merely lyric poems. alone It is not possible to convey an idea of its melody through an appreciative essay it must be actually heard before its charm can be fully

realised This remark applies equally to the case of Baianab Padābalis. Those who have listened to Baianab songs as well as to the songs of the Kabiwalas sung by an expert and tasteful singer, may appreciate their charmingness in

a greater degree When seen in print these delightfully melodious things lose much of their appeal. It may be urged that this element should be rigidly ruled out of court in a strictly literary estimate, but it must not be forgotten that the fame of most of these Kabiwalas rests more upon their musical than upon their literary capacity, for some of them were trained musicians, not ill at verbal numbers but possessing considerable knack of composing what are rather disrespectfully called "words," and that the song-element preponderates in the various forms of ancient literature from Baisnab poetry down to tappā, yātrā, pāmchāh and therefore cannot be totally ignored in any estimate of old Bengali literature or its offshoot.

This brings us naturally to the question of the prosodic lange of Kabi-poetry and the allange-Its system of versiment of its numbers, its metrical fication system being closely connected with the conditions of its musical expression. At first sight the verse-system of the Kabiwalas seem to follow no definite rule of arrangement, and this has been more than once severely denounced by puzzled critics 1 The lines vary in length, are very apparently irregular in thythm, imperfect in structure and uncertain in accentual or literal or syllabic airangements, but a careful study will show that there is some sort of harmony in the midst of this apparent discord It is, no doubt, true that in some of the Kabiwalas there is a hopeless indifference to prosodic regulations, that with regard to the number of words, syllables or accents required in each line, there is no hard and fast rule, and that as such it is impossible to analyse the

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the remarks of Rabindranath Thakur in Sadhana (1302 B S), pt 11, p 65, reprinted in his Lok Sahitya under the heading Likibi Sniigit' at p 41

versification wholly by recognised systems of prosody, vet the verse of the Kabiwalas in spite of their frequent prosodic vagaries is self regulated following as it does a law of its own which varies naturally according to the irresistible ideal or emotional or melodious singgestion. The compositions must be primarily regarded as songs, and in songs variation of long and short lines is immaterial and the rigid rules of metrical arrangement incapable of ninform application. They can be better sung than read. The words and lines are arranged as they naturally sing and fall into apparently inevitable song rhythm. But the whole effect is not inharmonious, the music is clear and the movement of the rhymed vorses of varying length is easy and natural. The spirit of this verse system is that of unbounded lawlessness bound only by a law of its own that of

Its opposition to the established system of stereotyped versificatin and its infinite variety and versatility resistance to the established ideal of stereo-typed verses like payar or tripadi which possess a more or less fixed system of letters or pauces. In this again Kabi poets are following

in the footsteps of their Basaab predecessors though with a great deal more of unhampered freedom. Whatever may be the defects the system gives us however variety of arrangement versatility of combination and infinite suggestion of new verse-forms.

But in general structure of the songs the Kahiwalas followed a more or less definite system of rhyme-arrangement. The exact signification of much of their musical

The general atructure and rhymo arrangement of Kald songs. technicalities is lost to us but for our purpose it is not indeed necessary to enter into details. It would be enough to state that the whole musical gammt

of each song is arranged in ascending and descending order into several divisions, bound to each other hy a peculiar

system of thyme-ending These divisions, in their succession, in each complete song, are chitan, par-chitan, phuhā, meltā, mahadā (saoyāii, not piesent, howevei, in all songs),  $kh\bar{a}d$ , and then second  $phuk\bar{a}$  and second  $melt\bar{a}$ , and If the word-composition is continued, lastly antarā then, chitan, etc., come again in their successive order. Now as to the system of thyme-ending, the chitan and par-chitan thyme together The phukā, has a different thyme-ending, so also melta which however thymes in its turn with mahada and lhad The second phula has an independent thyme but the second meltā rhymes again with mahadā, while antarā closes with a different thyme-ending altogether The number of lines which each of these musical divisions contains is immaterial but it is essential that the lines should follow the thyme-arrangement indicated above, and this gives, as in stanzaic poems of sonnets, a compactness of arrangement Taking each division to contain one line we may indicate the thyme-airangement in a normal scheme in this way (five thymes in all abcde)

- a Chitan
- a Parchetān
- b Phukā
- c Meltā
- c Mahadā
- c Saoyān
- c Khād
- d Second Phukā
- c Second Mahadā
- e Anlarā

¹ The earlier Kabi songs are, however, simple in structure, having generally mahadā, chitān and antaiā only. There is some difference of opinion on this point and different accounts are given. According to a writer in Bāndhab, Pouz, 1282, p. 265, the four divisions of Kabi songs are chitān, mulh (or mahadā), khād, antarā or, in some cases, chitān, dhunā, antarā, jhumair

Here is an illustration from one of the famous songs of Rüm Basu arranged in the order indicated !--

১ চিতান। প্রত নিশিবোগে আমি হে মেশেছি এবপন।

১ পরচিতান। এণ কে দেই আ্থার ভারাধন।

আনার দেখা দাও ছখিনীয়ে।

১ মেন্তা। অন্নি ছবাহ পদাতি উমা কোনে করি আনন্দেতে আমি আমি নত।

মহড়া। তহে গিরি গা তোল ছে, উমা এলেন হিমালর।

मश्राति। किंग्रहर्गी ह्यी यतन, ह्यी कह दर्भात

मृत्य यन सर सर इशी सर।

খাদ। কয়া প্র আহি বাংসকা তার এ। জিলা করা নর। ২ কবা। সাচল ধ্রে তারা বলে যি না কি না নালো

জ্বা প্রাথম ভাষা বংশ ছালাক লাল্ডিয়া ভুলাম বাসের কি এমনি লাল্ডা।

২ মেনতা। নিষি তুমি বে মগতি বৃদ্ধে না পাৰ্গতী অফটাৰ মান্তি লগ্নতা।

सक्षता। मा रुखा यठ व्यांना यापक मा १०१४।त साहरू काला। स्थितक मा रुखिश मार्च खुला शाहे कर्च १८३ महा प्रार्ट केला।

Of Kahi poetry before 1760, not much is known Only a few names stand out of the general obscurity; but with regard to these names hardly any detail is known. The earliest if not the most illustrious Kabiwala of whom we have any record is one Goullin Guin. In the issue of the Sanhād Prabkātar's already referred to Isyan who was the sanhad to the sanha

Godhla Gudi the about 140 or 150 years" before his walk.

Gupta tells os that Godhla Godrella about 140 or 150 years" before his walk.

Prückin Kab serigraha, pp 4-5; Barhted Problem Kariik 1201 p 4
Sauked Problems Agrabaya 1 1201 I do not know on what
eridence handa and Raghn have been placed by Dineah Ohandra Sen
(Baig Bhaji O Shling, End Ed., p 607) in the 11th century

poet as early as the beginning of the 18th century. Of this Kabiwala however, we know nothing except that he formed a party of professional songsters (kabir dal) who used to sing in "the house of the rich" and that he had three disciples who in later times became famous Kabiwalas, but we have no evidence to ascertain whether he was the originator of this form of singing or (which is more probable) whether he had his predecessors in the line from whom he inherited his art. Of his composition, only one or two fragments have been rescued from oblivion by the indefatigable editor of the Prabhākar, from which we quote this curious literary specimen

এস এস চাঁদবদনি।

এ বসে নিবসো কোবো না ধনি॥
তোমাতে আমাতে একই অঙ্গ,
তুমি কনলিনী, আমি সে ভূঙ্গ,
অন্ধানে বুঝি আমি সে ভূঙ্গ,
তুমি আমাব তাব বতন মণি॥
তোমাতে আমাতে একই কাষা,
আমি দেহ প্রাণ তুমি লো ছায়া,
মনে মনে ভেবে দেখ আপনি॥

It will be noticed that both in theme and style these songs, if they are genuine, are more of the nature of the  $tapp\bar{a}$ , and we are told that in those days, such songs used to be sung, after the fashion of  $tapp\bar{a}s$ , beginning with

Also a little fragment

প্রাণ তোবে হেনিধে ছগো দুরে গেল মোর। বিরহ-এনলো ২ইলো গীতলো, জুডালো প্রাণো চবে বি॥

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Also quoted in Prāchīn Kabr samgraha, p. 1278, Gupta ratnoddhār, p. 205. The last four lines are omitted in Banga Sāhitya Parichay, vol. 11, p. 1551.

the makida and then proceeding to the chilan and antarwhile in later times singing used to begin, as already indieated with the chilan From these little fragments how ever, nothing definite can be inferred with regard to the nature and history of Kabi poetry of this period

The three disciples of Goinila alluded to above were Laln Nandalal Raghunath Das and Ramii Das dates are unknown but they must have been living considerably later than the middle of the

Three disciples of Gorb)14

18th century for Haru Thakur (born about 1738) was a disciple of Raghu

while Nityananda-dae Bairagi (born about 1747) acknow ledged Lalu Nandalal if not Ramji also as his master ' Raghn had two other great disciples who in later times carned much poetro fame in Rasu and Nysuitha Ramit on the other hand found a worthy disciple in Bhabani Banik who in his turn was the early potron and instructor of Rom Basus considerably rumor to most of these Kahiwalas These are the names of the earlier group of Kahiwalas

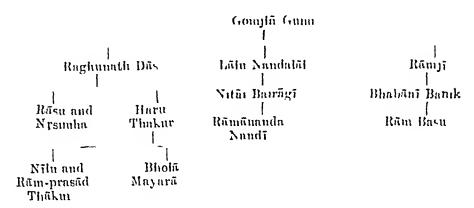
and the poetical inter relation between the earlier habiwalss

It will be noticed however, that, there is a sort of inter relation between the earlier Kahiwalas and all of them

Sanbad Prabhakar Agrahlyny 1201 p 5; but one of the seegs attributed to Nital by Isvar Gupta us will as by later collectors (K b calculater GR p. 116; Cupt ratnoddhar p. 184) bears the blanifu of Ramil Dis which fact would probably indicate if the attribution to Nital is correct, that Ramit and not Lain Nandalil was Nitsia G re Isvar Gupta speaks of Lalu Nandalal as having flour ished roughly eighty years before his own time. This rough recknning would put Nandalli in the latter part of the 18th century 11th century however (p. 341 foot note 2) is too absurd a date for Nanda or Raghu Oplaton on this point vary But Liver Gupta a so me to be more reliable than later unauthanticated conjectures. And what is given above is all that can be gathered from such reliable sources. Sashbad Prabhakar loc est

Ibid. Afrin, 1261 p. 3

derived then poetical origin from Gonijla Gunii. The poetical relationship may be thus indicated



During the time of Goinjia Guiña and his three disciples, we have no record of the existence of 'inval parties' or of any 'poetical combats' which obtained so much in later times and which was indeed an essential characteristic of this form of entertainment. It was in the next generation that we hear for the first time of rivalues and oppositions between Nitār Dās and Bhabānī, between Haru Thākur and Kisna Chandra Charmakār (Kestā Much), between young Rām Bash and Haru Thākur who must have been an old man at this time, as Rām Bash's 'reply' at one of these fights seem to imply '

> হলো এই স্থখোলাভো পীবিতে। চিবদিন গেল কাঁদিতে॥ হয়েছে না হবে কলঙ্ক আমাব গিয়েছে না যাবে কুল। ভূবেছি না ভূব দেখি পাতালো কত দূব।

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It runs thus ঠাকুর বাঁচবে না আন বিতার দিন। তৌমার চক্রে ধরেছে পোকা স্বর্ণরেখা অতি ক্ষীণ ।

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sambād Prabhākar, loc cit

শেষে এই হোলো কাঠারি পানানো তরণী নাগিলো ভাসিতে a ধনোপ্রাণো মনো বৌধনো হিন্তে শরপো নইনাধ বার তবু তার মন পাওরা সধি আমারে হোনো ভার।

না পরিংশা শাংবা উদংব বিজেবো মিছে পরিবাদো জগতে।

Of Itaghu nath no trustworthy account remains. Some say that he was a sat-fidar while others think that he was a blacksmith he casto! According to a third view he was a weaver. Salkina and Guptipada in turns have been noted as the place where he lived. Of his composition it is difficult to say anything definite for although two or three fragments have come down to us contaming his own bhapita or signature it is not perfectly clear that these songs were really of his own composition. The tradition is current that Harn during his early years of pupiliship under Raghn.

Thakur years of pupilship inder Raghin used to get his productions corrected by his master and that, out of gratifude he used to attach

to them his master's *bkatitla*. There is nothing to discredit this tradition which relates to a phenomenon not rare or improbable in our literary listory. The number of these songs however is limited and all of them, rightly or wrongly have been attributed to Haru Thākur. It may be quite possible, however that some of these songs were the genuine works of Raghu. But the disciple a

Bakgabhayêr Lekhak, p. 380

N byabkärat B.S 1131 p. 600

Ibid, pp. 600-801; Kabioy-Hadiger (TH (1882) p. 86; Barkbad Prabha.

Besides the one quoted here two such songs are given in Kabiogaladier Git at pp. 73-75 and at pp 91 33 in the collection of Harn Thakkur's songs These are also simil by given as Harn s in Schebid Prabhähar Pous 1281

gratitude seems to have got its own reward and to-day Ham Thakm is supposed to be the anthor of all songs bearing Raghu's signature. The tradition alluded to, however, does not disallow the supposition that the revision of the master might have given an entirely new shape to the novice's composition, and as such, therefore, it is only in the fitness of things that the songs should go in the name of the master. It would be difficult to dogmatise in the absence of evidence, but these songs betian an elaborate structure and explicance of lanes which some may connect with the early work of an ambitious vomigeter but which, on the other hand, may be supposed to bear indications of the master-hand There are three songs extant of this description, of which one is, rightly or wrongly, attributed to Raghu in Bangabhāsār Lekhak and in Prītigīti without any mention of Haru. The song is this

বিক্ ধিক্ তাব জীবন যৌবন।

এমন প্রেনেব সাব কবে বেই জন, সে চাঙে না জানি তাব যোগাই মন॥ যেথানেতে না বহিল মানী জনাব নান, সে কেনন ভাজান তাবে সঁপে প্রাণ

সেধে কেনে হবে গেছে বলগ্ন ভালন।

একি প্রণয়েব বীতি দই শুনেছ এমন, কেং প্রথে পাকে

কেহ হঃথে জালাতন।

শরনে স্বপনে ননে যে যাবে ধেয়ায় সে জন তাহায় ফিবে নাহি চার, তথাপি না পাবে তাবে হতে বিগ্লবন্য

স্থি, পিবীতি প্রম ধন জগতের সার, স্কুজনে কুজনে হলে হ্য ছার্যথার। সামান্ত থেদের কথা একি প্রাণ্সই, কারেই বা কই, প্রাণে মরে বই,

ববে পবে আবো তাহে কবরে লাঞ্ছন।

ধাবে ভাবি আপন গই, তাব এ বোধ নাই, এমন প্রেমেব মুখে

তাবো মুখে ছাই।

হেন অবণ্য বোদনে ফল আছে কি, এ হতে স্থথী একা যে থাকি ধবে বেঁধে কবা কিনা প্রেম উপার্জন। শার অভাব লম্পট সট তার কি এ বোধ শাছে

কি করিবে তব প্রেম অন্থবোধ

মতি দৃঢ় উচ গতে দওয়া এ কেমন এ দেন নিশন না দেশি কপন

রণু বলে কোপা দিলে ওলনে স্তন।

Of the last describe of Gonijii Rāmji Dā nothing Ramji Dās absolutely is known except that Bhahāni Bank (a well as Nitūi Dās)

was in disciple and no work of his has survived. Only one song, however which is often attributed to Nithi. bears the biantia of Rimit Dis. It is in no way very remarkable except for its ingenity and fancifulness.

We hear also he to Much who remained outside this group but who belonged to this generation, as a very

popular songeter much sought after and respected, although obviously he was a shoemaker by caste Even later on Haru Thakur, himself a Brillman did not disdain to cross swords with him but we are told that Haru flukur, at that time a young man probably had the worse luck of the duel. It is a pity we do not know much of this mysterious figure. Inspite of all his efforts Isvar Gupta could not get hold of more than one incomplete fragment of this old oited itself not a very good specimen?

হরি কে বুবে তোমার এ শীলে।
ভান প্রেম করিলে।

হঠনে ভূপতি ভূবুলা বুবতা গাইনে শ্রীপতি
শ্রীমতী মামারে মহিনে ভূলে।

Vide a te p 343 foot note! It begins with সে কেন্দ্রাধারে কলকিই করে রাখিলে। সুবিতে নারি সুধি ভাগের আলীলে।

The song too long for quotation will be found in Gupta rate eddlar p. 181; K biopiladiger Git p 116
Section Problem Agrahayan loc c t

শ্যাম সেজেছ হে বেশ, ওহে হাধীকেশ, বাখালেব বেশ এখন কোথায় লুকালে। মাতুলো বধিলে, প্রতুলো কবিলে, গোপ গোপীকুলে, গোকুলে অকুলে ভাসায়ে দিলে॥

These earlier metrical essays of the Kabiwalas, to judge from the few extant fragments, are thus not so crude as to be comtemptuously set aside, but they are at the same time not so creditable in view of the fact that simultaneously, in another sphere, Bhārat Chandra was chaiming his royal patron with his art and his music, Durgāprasād was painting his picturesque description of the descent of the sacred river, Rāmeśvara was narrating his exceedingly human and homely account of Siba Gaurī, and Rām-prasād was pouring out his soul in devotional ecstasy

In the effusions of the next generation we find better quality and a greater elaboration of Kabi-poetry Simulta-

Kabi song of the next generation (about or after 1760 to 1830) neously with a certain advance in the artistic direction, both in form and substance, we hear of systematic organisation of "parties" (kabi dal)

and "poetical combats" (kabi-yuddha oi kabii-ladāi) which no doubt thilled many a heart in days of yoie but with which the literary historian has no practical concern except in so far as this circumstance affected the making of these songs and their poetical quality. Into the details of these poetical 'flytings,' comparatively uninspiring to a modern reader, it is not necessary for our purpose to enter. We need not narrate at length how Bhabānī Banik, until reinforced by Rām Basu, must have found a tough opponent

Organisation of "parties" and poetical combats in Nitāi Bailāgī¹, how unlucky Haiu Thākui, an old veteran and winner of hundred "fights" as he was, had the humiliation of being worsted not only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sambād Prabhākar, Agrahāyan, 1261, p 6

Kesta Muchi but also by a youngling like Rum Basu 1 or how Antony was attacked by Thakur Suitha but paul him back in his own coin 2. But this necessity of poetical rivalry in which quick and witty retort played a great part, and this contamination of popular applause which readily followed such chean display of ingeninty went a long way in debasing the quality of Kabi poetry until these poetical extemporisations degenerated into somethin, even worse than the waveide vorses that are hanked about and sold for a penny. The later Kabiwalas fell into the vital error of imagining that the sole end of poetical existence consisted in abusing and throwing mud at each other. Over the dull obscenties into which they entered it is better for the critic to keen silence, but we may here recall for illustration one or two instances of these retorts although they do not always display either sobriety or good taste. At a certain sitting at the Sobhabazar Palace the parties of Ram Basn then an old veteran and of Nihi

An instance of witty retort quoted Thiklur (a disciple of Rhin Basu's old rival Harn Thikkur) met Milu was dead but Rhin prastid Thiklur was then the leader of the party Rhin prastid becau the attack

নাইক দ্বাম বোগের এখন গেকেলে পৌরোব

धनन वन करत १८६८४न असि त्रांत-श्रीयक्शिश्वत \* \* ॥

But immediately Ram Basu retorted

তেশ্নি এই নীৰুর দলে রাম্প্রসাদ এক্টান্।

বেমন ঢাকের পীটে বারা পাকে বাজেনাক একটি দিন।।

habyabbärat 1811 pp 477 79

Rām-gati Nyāyaratna, Boāgabhāsā O Sahitya bişoyat Praviāb 3rd Ed. (1917) p. 108, footnote quoted in Bangabhāsā O Sahitya at pp. 568-0 For notice of a fight between Antony and Rhols, see Bhārali 1903 p. 50 et seq বেগন বাতভিথাবীৰ ধামা বত্ত্বা থাকে একজন,
হবি নাম বলেনা মুখে পেছু থেকে চাল কুছুতে গন,
কর্মো অকর্মা তেম্নি ঐ বামপ্রসাদ শর্মা
মন কাজেব কাজী ঠাটেব বাজী (ভাই বে)।
ঠিক বেন ধোপাব বিশকর্মা,
বেগন বিভেশ্ন্ত বিভেছ্বল, সিদ্ধিবস্ত বস্তুহীন।
নীলমনি মলে, নীলমনি দলে চুক্লে সিংভাঙ্গা এঁডে বাছুবেব পালে
যেমন নবাব মলে নবাব হলো উজীবালি আডাই দিন।
বেগন মেগেব কাছে পেগেব বডাই ববে কবে জাঁক,
ছনিবাব কর্মেতে কুডে, ভোজনে দেডে, বচনে পুডিবে কবেন থাক্॥
তেম্নি শ্রীছাঁদ, এই পেটকো মুলুকচাঁদ, তবেন বামপ্রসাদ, ধবে ক্ষপ্রসাদ
বেগন জন্ম কন্থু হাত পোবে না দোলে লবেদাব আতীন॥

It is useless to multiply instances <sup>1</sup> and most of them do not bear quotation, but the instance quoted, itself moderate enough in tone, will furnish a hint as to the excess to which the Kabi-fightings were carried. Once asked nonically by Thākur Simha

বল হে আণ্টু নি আমি একটি কথা জান্তে চাই, এসে এ দেশে এ বেশে তোমাব গায়ে কেন কুৰ্ত্তি নাই॥

Antony retorted in abusive language

এই নাঙ্গালায বাঙ্গালীব বেশে আনন্দে আছি। হয়ে ঠাকুবে সিংহেব বাপেব জামাই কুর্ত্তি টুপি ছেডেছি॥

While tearing his adversary to pieces, the Kabiwala incidentally tore to pieces all form, style or decency. The muses, who love solitude and devotional worship, could not be expected to stay at leisure and comfort amid the noise and tumult of this uproanous poetry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Ram Basu's attack on Nilu and Ram prasad on another occasion, see Prachinkabi sampraha, p 149, and his attack on Bhola

But Rasu Nṛsutha, Haru [hākur Nitāi Bairūgi and Rām Basu (we hear little of Bhabani Banik i the fame of

his disciple Ram Basa having over shadowed his own reintation) who were the great champions of this generation of Kabi poetry were not mere versifiers and their productions were not wholly destrute of poetic ment Of these chronology

The mysterious double personality of Rusu and Nysinha the two brothers who hved and worked together is a

Blan (1734-1807) and Nysitha (1738 1800?) fascinating figure of this group of Kabiwalas. They were so united in their work which bear their blands in joint names that it is difficult and

inequitable to separate them. It has been plausihly premised that one of them was the poet the other Mayark who was a disciple of Haro Thakui Bid p. 148 See also Anath Krena Deb Bahor Kebita, pp. 81-425; Bharoff, loc ct. sto.

Of Bhahani Bantk who li ed somewhere in Barbarar Calcutta.

attributed to Ram Basu or Haru Thakur in all other collections or anthologies. (See Prickin-K b susteraka pp 18-20 30 60, 80) Of

Yabyabharat 1811 p 647

Bhabanl's own composition, nothing has survived

composed music but on this point, it is not possible to make any definite statement. Even Isvai Gupta i says, উক্ত উভয় সংখাদবেব মধ্যে কোন ব্যক্তি গীত ও স্থার বচনাথ নিপুণ ছিলেন তদ্বিধ্যে আমবা কিছুই জানিতে পাবি নাই।

Rasu and Nrsimha, though not of obscure origin like the greater number of their fellow-poets, yet afford no exception to the general rule in the obscurity that surrounds Rāsu was boin in 1734 (1141 BS) and their lives Nrsımla ın 1738 (1144 BS) at Gondalpada neai Fiench Chandannagai of a good Kayastha family 2 Their father, Anandinath Ray was a clerk in the military department of the French Government and earned a good deal besides his nominal salary The two boys were sent to the local village-school and then to their maternal uncle's house at Chinsurali where the missionaries had established a Bengali School (before May's school founded in 1814) They did not do much at school and so ultimately were sent back to then father after a year Anandinath died soon after this, and thus left to themselves, the boys had freedom enough to live as they liked They attached themselves to the party of Raghunath the Kabiwala who was the master of Halu Thakul, but, having gained some knowledge of the art they formed a party of then own which soon became They were greatly patronised by Indranarayan Chaudhui, Dewan of the French Government, and Chandannagai soon became a centre of Kabi-song through then influence. Rasu died at the good old age of seventytwo or seventy-three in 1807, Nrsimha survived him for a few years more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sambād Prabhākai, Māgh 1261, quoted in Janma bhūmī,1302, p 227

<sup>\*</sup> These biographical details are taken from Sambād Prabhākar, loc cit, Nabyabhārat, 1311, p 645 et seq, Kabioyālādigei Gīt, pp 97 98, Janma bhūmī loc cit etc

Of Risu and Nesitha s composition, only six songs have come down to us and the number is obviously too small is and the songs themselves too inadequate to allow us to form a just sembled and breaks songs all relate to sakki-sankbid and breaks but we are not sure whether they composed songs on other themes Tradition says that these were the two themes in which Risu and Nesithal excelled and the extant songs inspite of their small bulk certainly corroberate thus tradition. Here is one of the much praised pieces on sakki sankbid, which inspite of its fanciful note, is not wholly destitute of ment.

প্রাণনাবে। মোরো নেবেছনু শগরে।
বেশনিরে বিজে গলিতে।
থলগো ধরণনা আফু প্রভাতে।
বৃদ্ধি কারো কাছে রখনী বেগেছে
নরন বেগেছে চুনিতে চ
লার্কারীনাবেরো অর্চ প্রররো
স্বিতা অর্চ ক্রানেতে।
আনারো নাগরো নেবেছেন ক্রনেরা
চন্দ্র নিশ্ব ভাবেতে চ
হার। মর্বনেরো বিরো ভবিরে ধরেশ।
নীল কর্চনেশে নিশানা।
নীলক্ষ্ঠ নাম অতি অর্পান
অর্পতে রবেছে বেশ্বারী

Only six poems in all is to be found in all the existing books of collection and all these songs are noteworthy আমাব নাগরো গিয়েছিলেন্ কাবো কলক-সাগবো মথিতে। ফুবায়ে মহনো এনেছেন্ নিশানো আধির অঞ্জন গলেতে॥

It will be noticed that in this poem as well as in other poems on the same theme, the characteristic feature lies in its power of gentle banter and soft. Their characteristic sarcasm which, though not rare in other Kabiwalas, was wielded with great effect by Rāsu and Nrsiinha. In all these poems we have, on the one hand, the extreme simplicity of natural emotion befitting a mugdhā heroine, on the other, there is a sense of pilde and self-esteem, which imparts a touch of malicious egoism to these passionate songs. Alluding to Kubjā, the Sakhī says

শ্যাম, রূপেবো বিচাবো যদি মনে কবো

মঞ্চে যাহাব কাবণে।

ওহে লক্ষ কুবুজাবো রূপেবো ভাণ্ডাবো

শ্রীমতী বাধাবো চবণে॥

শ্যাম, ত্যজিলে শ্রীমতী তাহাতে কি কতি

যুবতী সকলি মহিলো।

ভূজস-মাণিকো হোবে নিলো ভেকো

মবমে এ জ্থো বহিলো॥

শ্যাম, প্রদীপেবো আলো প্রকাশ পাইলো

চন্দ্রমা লুকালো গগনে।

ওহে গোখুবেব জলো জগতো ব্যাপিলো

সাগব শুকালো তপনে॥

Or take another

শ্যাম, কার ভাবে ভূলে, কহ কোথা ছিলে মোঞ্জেছিলে কাব প্রেমেতে। ক্রভাতে কেশনে ভাইলে এ স্থানে
নিনাল বংনো দেখাতে।
শ্যাম, শরণে কি করে বলিংহ তোশারে
শ্রীমতী মাবার কথাটি।
এবারে মাববে যে ভানি দিলাবে
দে বাবে হাবার মাবাটি।
বিবে পর ক্রটি মাভাবে যে মাটি
শ্রীমতী তো সেট হোবে না।
পূলিংব সে মাটি মিবা ছড়া বাটি
শ্রীবারার এটি কটকেনা।

In their biraka songs again, there is no effeminate indulgence of self pity or straining after racy perversity but they are simple, direct and dignified and have consider able restraint of thought and language. The poets ask

কহ সৰি কিছু তেথেৰি কথা।
ঘুচাও আধাৰ দনেৰ ব্যবা।
কৰিবে প্ৰবণো হয় দিহা প্ৰানো
হেন প্ৰেমবনো উপথে কোবা।
আদি বনিকেৰো ছানে পেছোছ সন্ধানো
কুমি নাকি বানো প্ৰেমবাৰতা।
আমি এনেছি বিবাসে দদেৰ বিবাসে
প্ৰীতি-প্ৰহাসে মুখাৰ মাধা।

Speaking of the ordinary idea of love they say

সবি এ সকল প্রোম প্রেম নর।
ইহাতে মান্তিরে নাছি এপেরো উদর ।
হনের ভরনো লোক গরনো কলক-ভাপনো হতে হয়।
অধিব তেকে গরনে নোধে উপলে কি হথো।
কলক বোবণা অগতে মরণো হতে অধিকো।

ত্যভিয়ে এ স্থাবসো বেন বিষ ভণিবো, সন্দর্গে ছবিব। পাকিতে নয়নো অস মেট ঘনো, পেয়ে প্রেমন্না সে হার্যি॥ and the ways of such a lover are promeally reproached

> ত্যেমার চবিত, পথিব দেনত হোনে আন্তিমূত বিশ্রান করে। আন্তি দূর হলে, নায় সেই চোনে পুন নাহি চায় বিধে॥

If one can judge from the exceedingly small mass of poems of Rūsu and Nrsimha, which has been preserved but which is too madequate to represent their talents in full, one would still heartite to set aside these little things as mere melodious trifles or deny that their authors possessed a considerable share of the mesistible song-gift. Their lovesongs may lack, as the love-songs of most of the Kabiwalas do, novelty, polish or depth, but they have a simple directness and an untutored nobility which is not common enough among contemporary songsters.

Haru Thākur, however, the next great Kabiwala, displays a variety and abundance of poetical accomplishment, and his work has fortunately come down to us in a comparatively large bulk. Hare Krsna Dīrghādī or Dīrghāngī, popularly styled Haru Thākur, the adjunct Thākur having been added as a mark of respect, was a Brāhman among Kabiwalas of generally inferior caste. He was born at Simla, Calcutta, in 1738 (1145 BS).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Writing in 1854, Isvai Gupta says that Haru died at the age of 75, "more than forty years" before his own time. This would indicate that the dates of Haru's birth and death would be roughly 1739 and 1814 respectively.

His father, Kalyanchandra 1 Dirghadi sent his son to the pātāšālā of one Bhairab-chandra Sarkār but his meaus were not sufficient to give his son a good education nor did the son seem eager enough to profit by his studies, for from his early years Haru betrayed a greater attachment to musical and poetical composition than to monotonous book learning When he was a mere boy eleven years old, his father died and Haru at once gave up his books and began an irregular life of indolent pleasure for some years. But he had a natural gift of song and his irregular life had brought him into contact with a group of bohemians whom he gathered together and formed an amateur Kabi party (sakker dal) under the acknowledged guidance of the weaver poet Raghunath in whose company Harn had obtained his preliminary training. It is through Raghunath that Haru first began to be widely known and appreciated and for Raghn Haru Thakur always cherished a deep feeling of respect and gratitude a fact which is amply indicated by his generously putting his master's bkanda to some of his own compositions. The story is told how Haru got fame and recognition for the first time hy mugung at the palace of Raja Nabakrana, a great patron of letters of that time and how the delighted Raja having awarded him with a pair of shawle the proud young man felt insulted at being treated like a needy professional Kabiwala and walked away throwing the royal gift on the head of his own diele (drummer) The Raja however was a man of taste and discernment and had enough sense of humour to appreciate the uncommon behaviour of the young poet and it was through the Rajas advice and patronage obtained so queerly that Haru subsequently formed a professional party (pebudurs dal) although he

Callod Kallcharan in Bangabhlyar Lekhak, vol i 3671 in G pta-rainoddhar p 103 in Kabiogilfädiger Git p. 64

always seemed averse to earning money by such a prostitution of his talents. Henceforth Kabi-song became his profession and his fame spread far and wide. He died at the age of 74 in 1812.

It is to be regretted that neither the songs of Haru Thākur nor that of his great rival Rām Basu have been collected or critically edited. Isvar Gupta gave us (1854) for the first time the largest collection of 45 songs of Haru Thākur (though some of them are mere fragments)

No complete collection or critical edition of his songs yet published

on the themes of sakhī-samhād and biraha The Kabioyālādiger Gīt Samgiaha (1862) meiely reproduces 27 of these with the single addition

of new piece <sup>2</sup> The Gupta-ratnoddhār (1894) again, the other authology of Kabi-songs, gives us only 30 pieces all taken from Iśvar Gupta's collections. In Prāchān Kabi-samgraha (1877), the number of Haru Thākur's songs is very limited, only 13 being given under his name, but of these 13 songs, five or six at least have been unanimously attributed in other collections to Rām Basu and one, so attributed to Rāsu and Nīsimha, is rightly or wrongly placed under Haru Thākur's name. In Prītigīti, the most extensive modern anthology of Bengali love-poems, there are 30 songs attributed to Haru Thākur but all of them (except two which are apparently new but which are however mere fragments and do not add much to Haru's reputation)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nabyabhārat, 1311, p 605 But, according to Kabioyālādigei Gīt, p 66 and Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrihā, 1302, p 384, following Īśvar Gupta (Prabhālar, Pous, 1261) at the age of 75

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> At p 134 But it is sometimes attributed to Ram Basu,

<sup>3</sup> At p 87-79

<sup>4</sup> At p 119 and p 397

are to be found in other collections and one of these ! is universally attributed in other collections to Ram Basin and one which is Haru's is wrongly attributed to Bligbant Banik ! Again much uncertainty still remains in spite of these efforts, as to the question of authorship of many of these songs for there is absolutely no means for determining with absolute certainty the authorship of many a song variously attributed to various poets What is true of Haru Thakur is true of every other Kahiwala, and this one instance would sufficiently illustrate the nature and extent of the data one has got to handle in dealing with Kabi poetry

But a poor collection of 45 songs-all of them not of the best and some of them mere fragments-is but a sadly diminished and dwindled legacy of the extraordi nary reputation which Harn Thakur has always enjoyed as

Rie versatility

one of the createst of the Kabiwalas The songs which have come down to us mostly relate to either of the two themes of biraka and sikki-sambad but if we are to

rely upon the testimony of Isvar Gupta who wrote only forty years after Haru Thakurs death we must admit that the great Kabiwala could write with equal facility and power upon all the other recognised thomes such as agamant, thabani binayak, lahar and

His laker and kheud songs testimenty of thend On the first two of these divisions not a single composition Ifvar Gupta. of Haru has survived Livar Gupta again tells that Haru could compose best on the themes of

At p 808.

At p 613 The Sangit sar-sangraha and Bangalir Gan etc. give a selecti n of Kabi-songs; but they are later and inferior collections apparently reproducing what is given in other special collections and therefore are not mentioned here.

lahar and kheud, but these songs, although much praised in their time for their ingenuity and verbal music, were hopelessly vitiated by bad taste and uniedeemed coarseness and can be dismissed with the just though severe comments of Isvar Gupta himself which deserves quotation here, কিন্তু ত্ৰংথেব বিষয় এই যে অতি জ্বন্যু অতি স্থাণিত অতি অশ্ৰাব্য অবাচ্য শব্দে প্রবিত হইত, একাবণ তাহা কোন প্রকাবেই প্রকাশ কবা বিধেয় নহে। বখন তাহাব নাম কবিতে হইলেই বাম বলিয়া ঘাম নির্গত কবিতে ২য়, ভূত প্রেত প্রভৃতি কর্ণে হস্ত দিয়া কোথায় প্রস্থান কবে, তথন আমবা কি প্রকাবে তাহা পত্রস্থ কবিতে পাবি। পূর্ব্বকাব ভাতি প্রধান ২ ।হিগারিত অর্থাৎ মহাবাজ রক্ষচন্দ্র রায় বাহাছব, নবরফ বাহাহ্ব প্রভৃতি উচ্চ লোকেবা এবস্তূত অন্তুত সকাব বকাবে সন্তুষ্ট হইতেন, আমোদেব পরিসীমা থাকিত না । জ্ঞাতি, কুটুম্ব, সজন, সজন, পবিজ্ঞানে পবিবেষ্টিত হইয়া গদগদ্দিতে শ্রবণ করিতেন। 2 It is no wonder, therefore, that these sorgs have all perished, and time, the exorable judge and destroyer, has preserved to us only those songs on biraha and sakhī-sambād for

<sup>1</sup> If Kheud is unquotable, lahar is nearly so As the modern reader has no idea of what it is like we give here a specimen of a moderate type—

আমি মগধপতি জরাসধা বটি হে কংসেরি খণ্ডর।
ওহে কংসের ভাগ্নে কৃষ্ণ তুনি নাতি আমার সথল মধ্র।
তোনার সপী দুটি পবিপাটী নানে ভীমার্জুন,
কৃষ্ণ ভাল কবে আজ আমারে দাও উহাদের পরিচয়।
উহার কোন্টি তোমার পিন্তুতো ভাই, কোন্টি ভগ্নিপতি হয়।
ভল্লব্যের মেযে বটে স্লভ্জাব বুদ্ধি ভাল ন্য,
ওহে ভাইকে পতি করতে গেলে তোমার মত কে আব হয়।

It hardly requires any comment This and Kheud represents a phase of the Kabi-movement over which the critic had better keep silence

<sup>=</sup> Sainbad Prabhakar, Pous, 1, 1261, pp 5 6

which Hara Thakir had been deservedly famous and which indicate oven in the fragmentars and madequate specimens which have come down considerable poetic power, which cannot be, as it often is summarily damned

Leaving aside the interitical encomiums of reactionarienthismsts, on the one hand and induc undervaluing by an equally enthic meter school of 'modern critics' on the other we must admit that even the obviously inadequate and insufficient specimen of Harri Thakur's workmanship which have survived indicate that he had oven

His poetic quality judged by strict standard sufficient intelligence and poetic power in larger

or smaller in clearer or more clouded shape of writing songs and not mere congeries of verse. Considering the time and the circumstances the must not be regarded as a very poor or mean prists. That there are obvious and not inconsiderable defects is true. The subject is often trite the thought a hackneyed or in ignificant one the poet lacks perfect expression and su tained utterance is defective in rhyme or metro or other technical qualities and has one of the superior charm and grace of the greatest Baisnab poets. But the indefinable yet unmissible poetic touch is always there and nothing but superficial or wilfully capricion criticism will pooh pooh its true poetic spirit or damn it with faint praise.

It is not possible within the limits of our plan to enter into details or with the space at our disposal, to give extensive quotations which alone would bring out the beauty of Harn Thikkirs songs But these songs are more or less justly included in the numerous anthologies of Bengali

His songs on salkit poetry and many of them are known by heart to every one who knows

Bengale poetry at all The best songs of Haru Thukur

the ment of which it is impossible to underrate, more than justify themselves to any one who looks at poetry with just and catholic appreciation. To such a reader, সহবে, কই বিপিনবিহাৰী বিনাদ জানাৰ এখনা! is not a trifle not ক্ষমভাৰে কেলো বংশা বাজায় nor সন্ধিৰে বনেৰ জনমে গত দিবসেৰো বজনীখেয়ে not জামাৰে সন্ধি ধৰো বৰো ব্যথাৰ ব্যথিত কে আছে জানাৰো not জালো যদি প্ৰাণস্থি ভানিতাৰ not কি কাছ জাৰ বজন্বনে nor many others. We have not space enough for lengthy quotations but we shall select here two specimens (other than those mentioned) from his sakhā-samhād?

শ্যান তিবেক হাডাও
হেবি চিকণ বাল ববল। শ্যান তিলেব হাডাও।
এ অধিনীব মনেব মানন প্রাও॥
সাধ মন বহুদিনেব, আজ পেরেছি অসনে
চল্রাননে হানি হানি বাশিটি বাজাও॥
নির্জনে এমন না পাব দবশন
বায় নিশি যাক্ জান্তক গুবজন।
তাহাতে নহি থেদিতো গুন ওহে এজনাগো
ও বংশীবো গুল কত বিশেষে গুনাও॥
শ্যাম, গুন গুন যাও কেন বাথহে বচন।
তোমাব বাঁশিব গান আমি কবিব শ্রবল॥
কোন বন্ধে পুবে ধ্বনি কুলবতীব মন
কুল সহিতে হে কবিলে হবল।
কোন বন্ধে পুবে ধ্বনি বাধায় কব উদাসিনী
সাক্ষাতে বাজাও গুনি আমাব সাথা খাও॥

¹ Contains Haru Thükur's master's (Raghu's) bhanitā hence quoted as Raghu's in Banga Sāhitya Parichay, vol 11, pp 1548-49

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sambād Piabhālar, Pous, 1261, Kabioyālādigei Gīt, p 88, Gupta ratnoddhār, p 60, Sangīt-sāi samgiaha, p 1038, also quoted in Nabyabhāiat, 1131, p 602

The other is a fine piece but it is sometimes attributed to Ram Basu <sup>1</sup>

একি অক্সাং বজ্বে বল্লাগাত কে আনিলো রখ গোলুলে।

অকুর সহিতে কেন ভূমি রখে, বৃধি দধুবাতে চলিলে।

ইহাই কি তোশাবি মনে ছিল হরি এলকুলনারী বর্বিলে।

বলনা কি বার সাবিলে।

শ্যাম তেবে বেখ মনে তোশারি কারলে এলাগনাগর উপানী

নাহি অন্ত ভাবে তন হে শাববো তোশাবি প্রোধন প্রেরানী ঃ

শ্যাম, নিশাভাগ নিশি বধা বাজে বালি তথা আসি গোলী নক্লো।

কিনে হলেদ শোবী তা তোশাব জিঞানী এই সোবে কিহে তালিলেও

বিদি চনিলে স্বানি তোলে এলস্বী এলনারী কোবা রেখে বাও।

শীবন উপান বলে বাও।

কি মুখ্যদান করি নিবেদন ব্যন্ত ভনিতে তথা ক্ষাক।

ক্ষেপৰু ধদন করি নিবেদন ব্যন ভূনিবে কথা কও ।
শ্যাম বাও মধুপুৰী নিবেৰ না করি খাত হরি বখা পুথ পাও।
একবাৰ সংগ্রেপনে বৃদ্ধিনবনে বুখাগোপীর পানে ফিরে চাও ।
জনধের মত শ্রীচরণ চট হেরি হে নয়নে শ্রীহবি
আর হেরিব না আশা করি।

Hard Thirkur is certainly at his best in these songs on sakki-sambād and one who does not mear the mishap of falling between the two schools already alluded to will appreciate their charming quality. His biraka songs which at one time enjoyed and even to-day enjoys an enormous reputation and popularity are certainly inferior in quality as well as in bulk not only to his sakki-sambād compositions but also to the biraka songs of his rival and

So attributed in Nobyebhārut, 1311 p 476 and Jasmabhāesi 1303-04 p, 303 : but in all other collections from Nour Gupta downwards, it is assigned to Haru Thākur Thars are slighted diffu. nose of reeding in various collection. In some anthologies the lines beginning with after them as constituting a separate song

contemporary Ram Basu. These songs do not eall for detailed comment though some of them are not altogether

destitute of ment. There is no peculiar charm or characteristic feature which distinguishes these songs from similar compositions of other Kabiwalas except perhaps the fact that there is a sense of disappointment, of embittered feeling, of sareastic gloominess, in tone and temper. We will therefore close this account with one short piece

which, if not characteristically representative, will illustrate

পীবিতি নাহি গোপনে থাকে।
ত্তনলো সজনি বলি তোমাকে॥
ত্তনেছ কথনো জলও আগুণো
বসনে বন্ধনো বাথে॥
প্রতিপদেব চাঁদো হবিষে বিবাদো
নখনে না দেখে উদয় লেখে।
দ্বিতীয়ের চাঁদো কিঞ্চিতো প্রকাশো
তৃতীবেব চাঁদো জগতে দেখে॥

sufficiently Haru Thakur's style and manner

Nıtyānanda-dās Banāgī, popularly called Nıtār or Nite Barāgī, younger than Haru Thākur but much older than

Rām Basu, was one of the famous

Nitāi Bairāgī
and populai Kabiwalas of his time,
but his fame rested more upon his
sweet and melodious singing than upon his poetical

¹ See for instance the song 'এতো ছথো অপমানো সাধেৰো পীৰিতে প্ৰাণো ' or ' ধিক্ ধিক্ তার জীবন যৌবন' (already quoted under Raghunāth) or 'তোমার আশাতে এ চারিজন নোব মনো প্রাণো শ্রবণো নয়ন।।'

² See for instance 'আর নাবীরে কবোনা প্রত্যার' (sometimes attributed to Rām Basu), 'যার বভাব যা থাকে প্রাণনাথ তা কি ঘূচাতে কেহ পাবে' or বুর্বেছি মনেতে রমণীর প্রেম।

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See for instance ওহে বাব বাব আব কেন জ্বালাও আমায়। or এই সদা ভয় মনেতে বিচেছদো বা ঘটে পীরিতে।

composition. He was an expert singer rather than a good composer of word. Him off on unlettered man he could hardly were words into music; but one Gour Kabiral a native of Simla Calcutta and a brahaman named Nahai Thakur u ed to frame songs for him by which he won so much reputation. Gour Kabiraj! excelled in Iraki and thend while Nabii Thikur had more versatile out although hous credited with great excellence in his arkki saidal. It is difficult however to ascertain at this day what particular song wa composed by this or that individual poet and even half a century ago Isvar Gupta no mean judge who collected these songs only 33 years after Nitār's death and had ampler materials than we now possess confessed his inability to do so 2 All songs, therefore which were sung by his party now go by his name alone

Nith was born at Chandan nagar about 1751 (1158 BS)<sup>3</sup> in the house of one Kunjadis Baisnah and was brought up in Baisnah and Nothing, however is known about the detail of his life but his fame as a Kabiwala at one time spread far and wide over the prosperous eities and villages on the two sides of the Hoogh and we read graphic accounts of the eagerness with which people used to come from a great distance to witness the sensational Kabi fights between Nith and Bhabian Bauik once his great rival.

This Kabirā) also used to compess tongs for other parties, when believe judged [Loko Jogi] and Vilu Thakur were among those when be thus favoured. It has been already noted that one song which is often attributed to Misi bears the bhay is of Rāmji. This may indicate, if the song itself is not Rāmji s that the latter was one of the postical preceptors of Niki

In Prackl Kabi-sasigraha, however two songs are given with direct attribution to Nabal Thakur

Soo Sambad Prabhalar Agrahayan 1 1201

Ibid. loc. cit

But his profession not only brought him tame, it also brought him money, and we are told that he made good use of his fortune by spending it an erecting an \$\bar{A}khd\bar{a}\$ at Chinsurah and a temple at Chandan-nagar where all the great religious festivals were held with pomp and splendour. In 1821,1 while returning from the house of the \$R\bar{a}\bar{a}\$ of Kasimbazar where he had gone to sing during the \$P\bar{u}\bar{a}\$ festival, he was attacked by illness which proved fatal and he died in the same year at the great age of seventy. He had three sons Jagatchandra, Ramehandra and Premehandra each of whom inherited his father's profession, if not his talents, and formed Kabi-parties in later times, but no direct descendant of Nitār is alive to-day

Like Hain Thakin whom Nitai resembles so much in poetical character, Nitar possessed not a small share of the gift of exquisite song-writing He wrote chiefly on sakhi sambad and braha but in both these he shows considerable power We have already quoted one of his beautiful songs in which there is, if not the delicacy of artificial bloom and perfection, a strain of the real, the meffable tone of poetry Nitāi had none of Rām Basu's thetorical tendency, finical meety or straining after studied effects, but his songs possess not a little amount of unconscious fieshness and beauty of tender sentiment and expression Nitai however, like most of his compeers, is a very unequal poet, spasmodic buists of fine lines and couplets go hand in hand with insignd and haidly tolerable verses. Himself a Baisnab Baiiāgī he, among the Kabiwalas, could more successfully imitate the inimitable Baisnab lyrics but the imitation often involves a peculial lack of judgment which makes him reproduce the heresies rather than the virtues of earlier poets. It is not necessary to give too many

<sup>1 1813</sup> according to Kabioyālādigei Gīt, p 110

quotations but the following selected extraots as well as that given on p 830 would illustrate his merits and defects.

গ্ৰমন গনংবংত কেঁকে পেন সুবারি।
তাই ভাবি দিবা শর্কারী।
অন্নেথনা মত রাধারে কাদানে
বুঝি, ব্রজে শানিবেনা শ্রীহরি ৪
হারি কি জাসিবে ব্রজে মার মনে সন্দেহ করি।
বানি সমুপুরী হোসে বেডো হারি প্ন শানিবেতা বংশিধারী।
হার, চটি করে বরি বধনো খানার বাট বাই বঁধু কর।
তথনো প্রানেধা ক্ষণবধনো লাবনের জনে তেনে বার ৪

Nithi's biraka songs again which however are rather scantily handed down are not altogether negligible although they have none of the superior ment of Ram Basa s biraka. We select here two specimens

কোৰ্যনি ভোৰার কোৰবার
আমি ভবিবে কি ভারা ভবিতে পারি।
ভূমি বে বনো খাওকে ধিরেছ করলো
পরিবোধে ভারা পরাকে মরি।
মনো বাধা রেখে ভোষারো স্থানে
ক্রীণাধ কোম করবো করি।
সে খারো উভারো ছবৈর কেবনে
লাভে মুলে হল বিভব ভারি।

পীরিতি নগরে বিধনো সধি মনো চোরেরো ভর। বসতি ইধাতে হার। নয়নে নয়নে সঞ্চানো মন অধনি ধরিরে বয়।

Roshkal Prabhalar Agrahayan 1261 p 10, Ibid p. 8. Gapta ratnoddha p. 196-9; K bioyaladiger Git p 122, Ibid loc. oit.; ibid, p 197; ibid, p 121

Latest born of this group but intimately connected with Ham Thakm in poetical rivality, in superior reputation and also in the singularly unsympathetic criticism which has been lavished from time to time upon him, is Ram Basu He was considerably vonnger than Hain and Nitāi-almost by forty-eight and thirty-five years respectively-Thaying been boil, about 1786, but he survived Nitai chy seven years and died off's a year before Harn Thakin . His full name was Ram-mohan Basu but he was widely flud popularly known through the abbreviated form of his name, Rām Basu His buti'i-place Salkia on the right bank of the Rain Bogn 1786 1828 Hoogly and his father's Iname was Ram Lochan Basn | Like every village-box he gives at first educated at the village pāthsālā and then at the age of twelve he was sent to Calcutta to lns uncle's (father's sister's husband) house at Jorasanko for further Inducation But like Hain Thakui, Ram Basii showed evail in hiearly years a marked tendency towards poetical composition which made his ambitious father some but which to brought the young poet to the notice of the kabiwala !! Bhabana Bhabani's training and encouragement mbude Ram Banık Basu realise very early the true bent of his geninguis father dying soon after this, Ram Bash had to give - up his studies and became a clerk in some mercantile offi re

a party of his own, at first amatem eventually interessional Of his character nothing definite is known but Ram Basu seems to have been one of those poets who have

his poetical aptitudes proving too strong, he ultimaktely took up the profession of a Kabiwala a literative profession, how-

first he continued to compose songs and sing for Bhabānī, later on for Nīlu Thākur, Thākur-dās Simha ayad others, but in the end, a few years before his death, he formed

ever, in those days as a regular means of livelificad

relished this life heartily while heartily believing in another

His temper and character at once religious and sensual He was not a man of ascetic or inclustic temper nor had be taken upon himself the mere materialism or the satisfied attitude of latter-day poets

but he had enough simpheits and integrits of feeling which made him grateful for the jovs of life but repentant when he had exceeded in enjoying them. Tradition speaks of his partiality for one Jajnesvari. a songstress of Nilin Thikurs parts who was herself a gifted Kahiwala of some reputation in her time. But though he was himself not above repreach he would still satirise with considerable frankness and sincerity the reckless young men of his time. Indeed Ram Basn's poems express in the most vivid and distinct manner, the alternate or rather varying moods of a man of coft sensibilities, religious as well as sensual

Ram Basu's poems which however have not come down in a more complete or more abundant form than

Haru Thakur s divide themselves in three groups sake-soubad birake and

Three groups of his poems.

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agamani In all these three departments of Kahi poetry he is said to have excelled but the poems which have survived in cooh department do not display an equal degree of merit. His songs on sakki-saribbad although placed by popular opinion in the same rank with Hami Thükurs exquisite things in the same line are certainly much inferior not only to those of his rival. Haru but also, it seems to those of Nithi Bartigi. Although

Of Jajfiesvari no details are known; one or two of her songs have survived which are noticeable. They will be found in Bakgo Sühiiya Panchaya vol. ii; also in other anthologies.

ৰৱের ধন কেলে আৰু গৱের বনকে আস্কুলে বেড়াও। নাহি আন বৰ বাসা কি বসত কি বছৰ। এটাকে কৰে নিবালা অনুতীয় আলা পুৰাত। there are some fine pieces which one should not capiterously

General characteristics of his songs especially of his songs on sakhi sambād

ignore, his songs on sakhī-sambād are marked by an artificiality of tone, by a considerable display of cheap ingenuity and sometimes by a vulgatity of tone and sentiment which very

often mais his beautiful passages. We have quoted already one song of this type while illustrating the leebleness madequacy of Kabi-songs in reproducing the spirit and grace of earlier poetry. Ram Basii is often regarded as the greatest poet of this group but he is at the same time the most unequal poet Indeed the songs of Ram Basu, in spite of their chaim and appeal, illustrate very aptly the intmost capacity as well as the utmost limitation of Kabi-poetry m all its aspects. The ments and defects of these songs are alike very great. As on the one hand, we have, in some of them, considerable simplicity of style, directness of expression, vigorous use of the vernacular idiom, tenderness and human interest, so on the other, we have the almost cloving display of verbal or alliterative dexterity, the conscious elaboration of trivial themes or trite sentiment, the comparatively uninspired use of ornaments and concerts the bane of a long-standing literary tradition and a false and affected taste for the jingle of weakly and inhaimonious phiases Coming, as it does, at the end of this flourishing period of Kabi-poetry, Ram Basu's song at once represents the maturity as well as the decline of that species.

Taking in the first instance, his songs on sakhī-sambād in which we find all these ments and defects amply set forth. We cannot but admit their inferiority in tone, sentiment and expression as seen in lines like the following

¹ See for instance his song মান কৰে মান বাখতে পাৰিনে or ব্যস্তেরে স্থপাও সধি etc.

কর্তে রাধার মান রক্ষে উত্তর পক্ষে বেন মান রহ।
করে এ পক্ষে গড়পাত যে পক্ষে বাক্ রাধানাথ
আনি প্রেমপকে পাাম আনাও বিপঞ্জে নহ।

is a good specimen of verbal dextenty but it lacks in poetic illimination. Then again note the race yet inferior note of the following.

শ্রীরাধার বনে গরিংরি কোপা হে হরি।
পূর্বানে কি প্রাণ হরি ও প্রাণহরি।
থানে বনে কুল হরি, কে ভানে বহিবে হরি
হতি ভার কি মনে করি মতি বোলে হরি হরি।

or take even the following artificial and hardly inspiring lines at one time highly extelled as one of the best pieces of Rim Basu <sup>1</sup>

মণে কি মণে কি বোনে দেব গো সথি কি হেলে হিনোনেতে।
গারিনে বিষ নির্গর করিতে।
গারিনে বিষ নির্গর করিতে।
গারিনে বিষ নির্গর করিতে।
গারিনে বিষ নির্গর করিব নির্গরে মন্ত্রা মনেতে।
নিতি নিতি নাই এট বনুনার মন সবি
মন মণ্ডো কি আম্ একি দেব বেধি ॥
মনে কি এমনো দেবেছ করনো বন বেধি ওলো গানিতে।
সাই বেধ সেবি পোভা নিনের আ্রান্তর মলো বাবেতে।
আন্ত্রিত তনালো বৃক্ বারো লানো ঐ ছারা কি ইবে ॥
আবো সবি কালা চার কি আছে।
বার্ সবি কালা চার কি আছে।
বার সেবি কালা চার কি আছে।
বার সেবি কালা চার কি আছে।
বার সেবি কালাচার কি উন্তর হব বিবনেতে।

In his sakki-sambād if Rām Bean is not fantastic to fingulity, he is often insipid to dullness. If he does not disgust, he too often tires. It is very seldom that Rām

This song is generally given an Ram Basus; but see Borkyo Szhityo Parickay vol. ii, p. 1152, where it is placed under Haru Thakur's name. Basic bursts forth into comparatively fine lines like the tollowing

The above remarks equally apply to his biraha songs

His songs on biraha

Listen to this fantastic and long-diawn-out complaint of a languishing maiden

এ বসন্তে সথি পঞ্চ আনাব কাল হলো জগতে।
কবে পঞ্চ ত্ৰথে দাহ পঞ্চহত দেহ পঞ্চত্ব বুঝি পাই পঞ্চবালেতে॥
পঞ্চ বাতনা প্ৰায় নিশি পঞ্চ প্ৰহবেতে।
যদি পঞ্চামূত কবি পান নাহি জুডায় প্ৰাণ হৃদরে বেবে পঞ্চবাল।
দেখ পঞ্চানন তত্ব ভগ্ন কবেছিলেন বাব
এখন সেই দহে দেহ পঞ্চাবেতে॥
পঞ্চাগ্ৰৰ মক্ৰধনজ বিবহি বাজ্যে বাজন
সহ সহচর পঞ্চাব বিপু হলো ভ্ৰমৰ কোকিলাদি পঞ্চলন॥
বাজা পঞ্চাৰ অঞ্চে হানে পঞ্চাব

আবাব ভান্ন দহে ৩৯ পঞ্চযোগ্যেতে॥

সই এই প্রকাশিশে শক্ষম মন্ত্রন দুল্মার বেন শক্ষরণ।
পদ্দল দিনে রাস বৃদ্ধি বার তার কিরপেও দহে প্রাণ।
পক্ষম বিশুর বদন বার রাজ্পের বে প্রথান
তার চিতা সম অগতে সাথ পক্ষম হুবেতে প্রাণ র
বিদি বিশক নিকেতে চাই পক্ষমিপু পাই পক্ষ সহকারী নাই।
কেবল পক্ষম অগাবে। পক্ষ রিপুর মধ্যে
আমি বালি বেন সবি পক্ষ তপেতে ঃ
সই পক্ষপাশুবেরা খাওবকানন আলাবে ছিল মেনন।
তেননি এ মেই আলাব সবি বসতের চর পক্ষমন।
পক্ষম বিশ্বপ বিধান করি বসতের চর পক্ষমন।
তাহে প্রতিবাদী হরগো আনি প্রতিবাদি পক্ষমন ।
বালে পক্ষ রিপুর বিবাদে প্রায়ে প্রতিবাদী পক্ষমন ।
বালে পক্ষ রিপুর বিবাদি করিবাদি পক্ষমন ।
বিশ্ব প্র পক্ষ বাতনা প্রাণি প্রতিবাদি পক্ষমন ।
বিশ্ব প্র পক্ষ বাতনা প্রাণি প্রতিবাদি পক্ষমন ।
বিশ্ব প্র পক্ষ বাতনা প্রাণি প্রতিবাদি পক্ষমন ।
বিশ্ব প্র পক্ষ বাতনা প্রাণি ক্ষমি সংবেন।
সই এবার পক্ষ বিশাহ বুবি পক্ষ ভাগেতে ।

It is impossible to mistake the significance of these lines and their tendency to artificiality. Super-subtleties of ingennity are more and more preferred to genuine poetic imagination and the true and spontaneous accents of poetry are lost.

Indeed this tendency towards an artificial rhetorical style this weakness for frigid conceits and for studied effects are very marked throughout the songs of Rum Basu and debase not a little the true quality

Leaning towards rhotoric and artificiality of his work. There is a good deal of genuine passion and emotion in his songs but the artificial expression so

often given to them makes them lose their proper appeal.

The tricks of the artist are more apparent than the passion of the poet. They administer an exciting pleasure to the eye and the ear but they seldom touch or transport. The

with its exquisite passion and poignancy buraha of modern poets with its delicacy and lit is too much of a verbal contest, of a frivolum and cious linguistic strife of the prayalbhā heroine. The of sarcasm is undoubted but fierce banter, \_\_\_ its mentalism of piercing nony forms its essence; and is too much of "bite," of ah and alar of catentatic distress to be at all touching, as in the following:

যা হোক ভাল ভালবাসিলে।
থেয়ে আমার মাথা পবের কথায় পীরিৎ ভেঙ্গে পাশানে।
করে আমার উপর বাগ বাখলে যাব সোহাগ
এখন তাব আদবে ভোমার আদব বাড়িল।
ভোমার পীবিতি কি বীতি হোল হে বেনন হংসী শ্বকেরি থান।
হংসী প্রেনেব দায় পাখা দিয়ে ভাকে ভায় সে পক্ষ কেটে নালা।
তামার অন্তবে নাই একটু টান্।
বল ভালবাসি সেটা কেবল দেঁতোব হাসি হাস প্রাণ।

আনাব যা হবাব হলো প্রাণ ভাল দায়ে পড়েছে।
বাহুগ্রস্ত শশী থেমন তেমনি হয়েছে।
সন্ধিথোগে সে শশির স্থিতি দণ্ড নথ।
সন্ধ্যা হোলে ভোমাব প্রাণ নিত্য গ্রহণ হয়।
সাবানিশি সর্বগ্রাসী দিনে চাঁদ মুধ বাহিবর॥

আজি বিরহবাদনে নাথেবে ভেবে অন্তবে শবশধ্যার করিবা । নাম। সংগ্রামে পাণ্ডবেব হাতে ভীন্নদেবেব দ । বেমন ।

<sup>1</sup> All these specimens are taken from Sambād Pabhākar. 11 them are reproduced in Sangīt san, vol 11.

আমার পতিরে বোলো দেশের ভূপতি বসত।
বিদি সে বৈদা দেশারর কে দিবে রালার কর
হবে কি কোকিন-রবে প্রাণার ।
ক্যেত আনেনা বাতু বসত্ত কেনন হরত।
ক্ষালে কে ববে কে কর।
বিদি সম্ব ওবে প্রকার আমাধানের ব্যর্থতে নাই বন ।
মদন বে করে করের ওবে প্রমন আর কে করে
ওবে সাকে কি কোরেছে শিব শাগান্ত ।
ভার্থ্যে রেকে মদন রাজ্যে, সই কান্ত গেল দেশারর
নানা বিবা রজনী বিরহে দহে ক্লেবর ।
আনার বেমন ক্যাল পোড়া
তেশনি সই হরকোশে কৈ অনকের প্রদাদ শোড়া
মদন সেই ব্যক্তি ক্যেত প্রম্বকে ব্রেনা সই
ব্যাসে বামিনীর কানে ভারো ক্রার ৪

আমি সাবে কি বিবাদে রবেছি।
কোরে না ব্বে লোভ শেব পেরে কোভ
বলি কাকে চোবে দেবে ঠকেছি।
বেমন মৎস্যমাংসভোগী হরেছিন অব্ কী
ভূই কি আমার ভাগ্যে এখন নেইটে বটালি।
তোরে ভাগ্বেনেছিলাম বোলে কিবে আনে আমার চকুল মদালি।

শাধার আপেনাথের এভাব ভাল নয় কুটিল হায়র হেন বিষয়র। নিজ রগাভাবে মধেল ক্রেব মধি সই জলে মর্কা নিরগুর।

There is also sometimes a tendency to elaborate didactic or symbolical form of expression.

Pritigiti pp. 74-75 Safejit sar safeynika vol. ii, p 1010.
This didactic tendency the Kabiwalas probably got from the writers
of the devotional songs, who from Rämprasiid downwards often

প্রেম তকতে সথি চাবটি ফল ফলে।
ত্তন ফলেব নাম স্থথ সৌখ্য মোক্ষ কাম
প্রজনেব স্থা কলঙ্ক কঠিনেব কপালে।
গোডা কেটে মবে কেউ আগায় জল ঢেলে,
চিনে মূল যে দিতে পাবে জল
ঘটে তাব ভাগোতে প্রেমতকব হাতে হাতে ফল।।
তক মনেব বাগে বৃভিয়ে যায়
বিচ্ছেদ ছাগে মুভিয়ে খায়
দেখো দেখো বত্নে বেখো, ফলবে না মূল শুকালে।।
প্রেমবৃক্ষে দিরে আশানীব কবতেছ সিঞ্চন
দেখা লো যেন হয় না শেষে বৃথা আকিঞ্চন।
বেডা দাও দই প্রবৃত্তি কন্টকে
প্রেমতক্রবে আঘাত কবে এম্নি পোডা লোকে।
যদি থাকে ফলেব বাসনা বেশি জল দিয়ে জালিও না
সময়ে একবিন্ম দিলে স্থাসেল্ল উথলে।।

It is not necessary to multiply quotations which have already become too lengthy but these aspects of Rām Basu's songs (in particular his biraha songs) have been so

But his charm and poetic spirit

often ignored that critics have gone to the length of declaring that the songs in question, smart and ingenious

though they are, are the most beautiful specimens of Kabisong Beautiful specimens Rām Basu's braha songs are but they are such only when Rām Basu rises above these fatal faults and depends upon the strength of his natural

indulged in this vein Ram Basi very desterously makes use of colloquial idiom, even of slang, but he sometimes carries the tendency to the extreme, eg, 'অন্থি ভাজা ভাজা হলো প্রেমের দার'। 'পিরীতি গেছে পাপ গেছে। হয়ে পবের পদানত চণ্ণেব জলে নিত্য থেত, যা হক বেনে এত দিনে গায়ে বাতাস লেগেছে। স্থাবেব চেয়ে পন্থি ভাল ঘাম দে হব ছেডেছে।।' 'আমি এক আঁচিডে পেলাম প্রেমের পরিচয়' etc

poetic genius. It is allowable and desirable to pick these night weeds out of the garden but unfortunately these unwolcome growths too often choke and destroy the charm oven of his beautiful pieces. It is very seldom that we find exquisite and spontaneous uttennee in Ram Basii but when we find them there is nothing better in the whole range of Kabi poetry. Songs such as the following

মনে রইন সই মনের বেদনা। প্রবাদে বধন বার পো সে তারে বনি বনি বনা হল না। সরমে মরমের কথা কথরা সেল না।

10

বৌৰন জনদের মত বার সেত আসা পথ নাহি চার ছ

or

পাড়াও পাড়াও পাড়াও আগনাপ বদন চেকে বেও না। তোমার ভালবাসি তাই চোধের দ্বেখা দেখতে চাই কিছু পাক থাক বদে ধরে মাধ্য না।

and many other fine things are
praised and they deserve quotation and all that have been bestowed upon them. They are too
well known to require comment or quotation again here
and they may be found in almost all selections of Bengali
songs. But one or two of the less well known may perhaps
be welcome again.

তোনার ব্যেষ হতে প্রাণ বিজেশ শাষার তালবেংগছে।
প্রেম হল আর শুরালো চথে দেখতে দেখতে গেল
অধ্যের মত বিজেশ আমার অধ্যের গণেছে
কলহ নির্বাহ হয়ে সপেহ নিটেছে।
তোমার প্রেমে সগে প্রাণ কেবন হল অগ্যান
স্থব হবে কি বল দেবি সাবতে গেল প্রাণ।
48

এ সব স্থাপেব চেয়ে আনবি স্থান্ত ভাগ তে সে সব সাধাসাধিব দালে প্রাণ বেঁচেছে॥ প্রবেব ভালবাসা প্রেনেব আশা সবাধি আকাশ। কোন স্থা বেখিন। শঠেব প্রেনে ছাই বাবনাস। কোন হাঁমায় আব বালান সদা প্রাণেতে আশায় আহ্ন নে ভোলে সিংহাসনে শাশ প্রথাত বসায়। প্রথা বেঁদে কেনে বেছাই হয়ে আধানাব বনে আধনি চোব

প্রাণ, তুমি আশনাব নহ জামাব হবে বি।
মনে মনে মনাগুণে আমি জগ্ব বই হাব বব্ব বি।
অনেব দিনেব জালাপ বোলে জাদবে ডাহি।
কেমন আছ তুমি, প্রাণ, তুমি শ্রবণে।

পোণ গেলে, প্রাণ, নিছ জঃথ তোমায় বলিনে। বিসমনে রুমের কাছে সাধ্বে কাঁদলে কল্বে বি॥

Ram become to song have been more than once entiresed tongs (" ound of its alleged immoral tendency to doubt, as we have pointed, too much of

The alleged immoral tendency of his songs

further, grossness, vilification, audacity, smartness of repartee and pursuit of selfish pleasure in most of

these songs and that there is an indecorous lavity of expression, an improper looseness of style which debases the quality of these songs, but the point is too often ignored that what is expressed in these songs is not the love of the analytic and self-questioning artist or the refined rapture of the idealist but the love of the natural man with all the force and crudity of its natural passion. Love in

¹ Chandrasekhar Mukhopādhyāy, Sārāstat Kuāja (essay on Rām Basu's buaha), also see Preface to Rasabhāndāi by the same author

this poetry does not die in dreams nor is it troubled with

but their expression

a deep philosophy or bored with its of gentine human own ideality, soaring into vague passion or indefinite pantheism

is strong naturalistic and direct, if also a little boisterous, un refined and even gross. It is surely too much to bring in moral considerations for judgment upon this honest cry of the erotic passion

> ্ৰৌৰ্ন জন্মৰ মত বাহ সেত আবাৰণ নাটি চাই। কি দিয়ে গো প্রাণস্থি ভারিব উভার n कीयम रवोदन शास खास क्षित्र नाहि बारम चुनर्शाव বাঁচিতো বসত্ব পাব কান্ত পাব পুনরার।

or of

একে আমার ও বৌধনকার ভাতে কার বসর এর। এ সময় লোলনাপ লাথাসে গের । বখন হাসি হাসি সে আসি বলে সে হাসি কেৰে ভাসি নংলের ছবে ভাৱে পাৰি কি ছেছে দিতে মন চাৰ ৰঙিং नका तरन कि कि शरद<sup>ा</sup> ना a

nor is it possible to underrate the pulpitating humanity of the following oft anoted lines which may be quoted again

্ৰাণিকা ছিলাম ভালো ছিলাম সই ছিল না স্থৰ অভিনাৰ। পতি চিনতাৰ মাও রদ ভানতেৰ না ন্দ্ৰর ছিল অঞ্চাশ। এখন সেই শতরণ মুদিত ক্ষর কাণ পেৰে স্টেন চ

01

এই খেদ তাবে চথে দেখে নবতে পেলাস না।
আমায় চাক্ বা না চাক্ সদা স্থাথে থাক্
কেন দেখা দিয়ে একবাব নিবে গেল না।
জীবনো থাকিতে প্রোণ নাথ যদি নাহি এলো নিবাসে।
লুদ্ধ আশা দিখে সে কেন বইল প্রবাসে॥

To condemn these expressions of the franker and simpler moods of the passion itself is unjust and cauting pindery, and the whole controversy over the question of moral tendency would seem to one to be a signal instance of the wrong thing in the wrong place It is more than useless or irrelevant either to read austere morals into these poets or damu them for their want of morals To anyone who can appreciate the bonhomie of Kabi-poetry, the songs remain and remain yet unsurpassed, inspite of its very direct plain-speaking (or coarseness if you will) according to modern standards, as the most frank expression of physical affection, of the exceedingly human, honest and natural passion of the man for the woman The amatory fashion of the world passeth but instead of undervaluing it or sneering at it when it is gone, let us appreciate the reality, force and naturalness of human passion wherever and in whatever shape it may be found

The agamani songs of Rum Basu, even more than his buraha songs, have all along enjoyed a reputation never yet surpassed, and this reputation they certainly deserve.

The sakhī-sambād and briaha songs of other Kabiwalas may approach or challenge comparison with those of

Rām Basu, but in agamanī Rām Basu is undoubtedly

supreme. The secret of his excellence in this respect hes in the fact that in most of these sones Ram Ba ii the poet and the man rises superior to Ram Basii the merc

literary erriftsman and that sincerity

Its slocerity simplifier and simplicity constitute

for any homen in

city and human in

the experiment picture of ideal good

ness but the simple picture of a Bengali mother and a daughter that we find in the Menakh and I mit of Rüm Basu. We seem to hear the tender voice of our own mother her anxiou solicitude for her daughter her weakhess as well as strength of affection in lines like these

তারা দাবা হোবে নানের তারা চারা চোরে রই।
স্বা কট উনা কট মানোব প্রাণ উনা কৈ।
মানার সেই তারা দারা ত্রিদা র সারা বিদি এনে মিনানে।
উনা চন্দ্র গনে ভাক্তে না না বেবানে।
উনা বত দেকে কর ওশে ছাসি নর

Menakā ha rejectedly implored her hii hand to bring lack her daughter whom he ha not een for over a vear but her hii band being apparently apathetic the neglected daughter has come of herself and the tender heart of the mother bursts forth in gentle represent upon the ponderously additional failur.

দেন অস্তাণীর স্পালে অন্য আরে 🛚

তবে নাকি উমাৰ তহু কোৰে ছিলে। বিৱিষ্কাৰ প্ৰশ্ন কন কোনোৱ মেয়ে কি বলে।

A short comparative account of the system of Rim Basu Kamali kanta and Disarctif Ray will be found in Blancthers — Kartik, 1825 p. 712. The earliest recorded Agumani song is that — Rim Prasid, and in this respect the Kabiwalas mut there been considerably influenced by Rim Prasid. Annualitativa and other writers of devotional songs.

নাবী প্রবোধিনে নেতে হে বিশানে যাই বোলে।

এসে বল্তে নেনকা ভোনাৰ জন্মৰ কথা

উনা সৰ স্তানছে।
তোমান দেখতে পাষানা আপনি ইশানা আসতে চেনেছে।
ভূমি গিয়েছিলে বই উনা বলে এই হে
আমি আপনি প্রসেছি হননা বলে॥

And nothing can be more foreible than this simple jet touching reproof

ভাল থোক খোব ওছে গিবি। যাই আনি নাবী তাই ভূলি বচনে। তোনাবো বি মনে হোতো না হে সাধ হেবিতে উনাব চল্রাননে॥

In most of the agamani songs of the Kabiwalas, the anxious mother dreams of her absent daughter. In Ram Basu the dreams are not bad or gloomy dreams but dreams of joyful anticipation or tender foreboding

গত নিশিযোগে আমি দেখেছি হে স্থপন।
এলো নেই আমাৰ তাৰাধন।
দাঁডারে গুখাৰে বলে মা কই মা কই মা কই আমাৰ
দেখা দাও ছখিনীবে।
খুননি ছবাহু পুনাৰি উমা কোলে কৰি
আনন্দেতে খানি আমি নয়॥

It is impossible to underrate the simplicity, tenderiess and beauty of these lines. There is no touch of ornamental rhetoric, no artificiality, nor is there any refined rapture or philosophic depth in these lines. They embody the simple utterance of a simple heart. What is daily observed and what is natural supply the essential ingredient of these songs, and if the test of poetic power be its

capacity of making the common as though it were uncommon then surely Rüm Basu was a poet in the true sense of the term

After cummerating these greater names which citation however does not exhau t the poetical riches of this remark able period we come to the less er poets who accompanied or came behind them. It is however not necessary for us to embark in detail upon the bisters of Kabi poetry

Rabi poetry after

after this period for after 1830 Kabi poetry langua hed in the hands of the less majured successors of Hara, lata and Ham Ba u. It continued

even up to 1550° to be a very popular form of entertainment but it rapidly declined if not in quantity at least in quality. Of this belated group, Nilu and Ram praesal Thakur? Anthony or Antonio the domiciled Portuguese songster. Thakurds. Simbla. Thakurds.

To what degraded state Kahi poetry had descended had that time so y be realised by reading the rehemently denouncing article on kahi poetry witch appeared in Bindhab Pons, 124 (1576) p. 207

Nilmant and Ramprasad Chakrabarti lived at Simia Calcutta.

Nilm was the younger of the two brothers. Several songs sung in their party are given in Prackl. K b semerate at pp. 30, 43, 40, 72, 89 etc.

Anthony or Anthony Firings is raid by Rajnardyan Basu in his Elui U Sci 1 to be of French extraction. He lived at Gareil near Chandannagar and at one time his Kebir del was very famous. He is said to have fallen in love with a Brahman woman whom be married and through whom be was converted into tilindulum. See for details Dinesh Chandra Sen Bangabh & O Sähitya Brickly p. 027-028 Banga Sähitya Parickay (some of his songs quoted) p. 16 61 h bydhärat 1312, pp. 101-03; Bahyar Kebita, pp. 318 22; Bangabhkār Lelkat pp. 375-377

Not much is known about him but he was a contemporary and rival of Anthony See Ashyabharai 131..., pp 64.-646 Rim Baan used to compose for his party | see Prachia K bi Sofigraha | pp. 38, 40, 40, 68.

Chakıavaıtī,¹ Thākuıdās Dātta,² and later on Gadādhar Mukhopādhyāy³ and even Īśvar Gupta⁴ obtained considerable reputation as Kabiwalas or composers of kabi-songs but we also hear of a host of others Nīlmani Pātani,⁵ Bholā Mayarā,⁶ Chintā Mayarā, Jagannath Baurk, Uddhaba dās, Laksmīkānta or Laksmīnārāyan Jogī (Loke Jugī), Goraksa Nāth,⁶ Guro Dumbo,⁶ Bhīmdās Mālākar,

- <sup>1</sup> Born in 1209 B S (1802 A, D) in the district of Nadīya He never formed his own party but composed chiefly for Antony, Bholā, Balarām Baisnab, Nīlmani Pātani and Rāmsundai Svainakār For details see Nabyabhārat 1312, pp 641 48 Some of his songs are given in Prāchīn Kabisamgraha, at pp 23, 32, 37, 52, 73, 91 and in Gupta ratnoddhār, pp 261 261
- <sup>2</sup> Born in 1207 (1800 A D) at Byātrā, Howiah See Nabyabhārat, pp 643 44, Bangabhāsāi Lekhak, pp 325 327.
- Tomposed for the party of Rümlochan Basük of Joransanko, who was the rival of Mohan Chünd Basu. Also composed for Bholü, Nīlu Thākur and Nīlu Pātani. See his songs quoted in Prāchīn Kabisamgraha at pp. 21, 27, 36, 50, 64, 72, 89, 94, 115, 118, 121, 128, 130 etc., also in Gupta ratnoddhār, pp. 213 247
- <sup>4</sup> His Kabi songs are quoted in Gupta ratnoddhār, pp 247 261, also a few in Prāchīn Kabisamgraha
- <sup>5</sup> Rūm Basu, Gadūdhai Mukhopūdhyāy and various other poets composed for him See Prāchīn Kabisamgraha, pp 27, 28, 64, etc Some of his own songs are given in Gupta rainoddhār, pp 208 9
- <sup>6</sup> Was a sweetmeat vendor at Bagbazar He was a disciple of Haiu Thākur's See for details Bhāratī, 1304, pp 59 66 Nabyabhārat, 1314, pp 67-73 Banger Kabitā, loc cit Some of the songs sung in his party are given in Piachīn Kabisangraha at pp 21, 37, 50, 67 etc. Jagannāth Banik was his great rival
- <sup>7</sup> Gorakşanāth was a "composer" of Antony's party but subsequently quarielled with him and formed his own party (see Nabyabhārat, 1312, pp 194 198, ibid 1313, pp 577-78) Rāmānanda Nandī was one of his mals Gorakşanāth's sons are given in Gupta-ratnoddhār, pp 294 296, and in Prāchīn Kabisamgaha, pp 43, 70, 110 etc

<sup>\*</sup> Prāchīn Kabisamgraha, p 66

Balarum Dis Kupali i Ramsundar Svarnakur, Mati Pasuri Hosam Kupali i Parandas and Udaydas Kupa Mahes i Mohanchand Basu s Ramundar Nandi, s Kranamohan Bhattachurya i Jaynuniyan Bandyopadhyay Rushaor Bandyopadhyay s Satu Ruy and Man mohan Basn i It is not possible nor desirable to enumerate all the names but the extraordinary fertility and popularity of this poetry will be sufficiently indicated by the list of names already etted. It is however like the swarming of flies in the afternoon lethargy and fatigue of a glorious day. There is no doubt, occasional sprinkling of good verses as well as a general diffusion of the poetic spirit thuned and diluted

Livedin Chandannegar Ills daughters son Krypadas was a Kabiwala. Pruchia Kab softgrada gives some songs sung in his party but they are not of his own composition

Was a clock in some office but subsequently became a Kabiwala. He lived at Hackaus Gully Calcutta. Several senge sung in his party will be found in Prach a Kab saste aha

Was the founder of Tarja. Moti Pasari was his rival

His name was Maheé Chandra Gho a Kāyastha, Ho was born blind; hence the nickname For details see Nabyabhārat 1313 p. 203-207

Was the founder of Hepsikhtli Kabi. His special creation was the Guissill Rd. See preface to Mansohan Glübali and Esmuldhi Gupta a Guardina. He was a disciple of N'dho Babu a who however was not a Kaliwala. Also see preface to Prachia Kab actigraha.

Was a disciple of Fittl Balifg? For details see h byabharat 1313 pp. 575-579.

His songs are given in Prick a Kabusangraha and in a collected form in Guptaratnoddhar up 231 '93.

The songs of Jayandriyan and Esikisor are given in Prüchia Kabisatsgraha , also in G plarat oddhär at pp 204-200

Fo details about his life etc. see Vabyrbhärat 1314, pp 05.57 Boxpa Bhäq r Lelhak pp 379-80. His songs are given in Gapt ratmoddh r at pp. 27 270

Was quite a modern" Not a Kabiwala strictly speaking but composed for Rab  $H^-p$ -alk $q^2$  and Pamckals. See Honnoh a Guïbali for his songs.

nt may be in course of time, but taken as a whole the later poetry is merely imitative and reproductive of the earlier and does not reward patient and detailed study. Not much of it can bear very well the beauty-truth test implied in the famous line of Keats. Nor are there materials enough to trace their systematic history in this period. In tone and temper as well as in poetic expression it declined considerably, and with the advent of

Hāp-ākhdāi first set in fashion by

Hāp ākhdāi and Tanjā

Mohanehānd Basu<sup>1</sup> and of Tanjā

popularised by Hosain Khān, the form

Itself as well as its spirit went through striking changes. These songsters no doubt kept up and still keeps up the native trend in poetry but in themselves they never reach that high level of literary excellence which would make them worthy of the attention of posterity. It is therefore not necessary to drag these inferior poets and their poems from their deserved obscurity or devote tedious pages to their comparatively uninspiring annals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a history of this see Sambād Prabhākar, Agrahāyan 8, 1261, and preface to Manmohan Gītābalī

## CHAPTER XI

## LOVE LYRICA AND DEVOTIONAL SONGS

Leaving aside the new prose-writing the period of Bengali Literature between 1700 and 1830 may be not unfitly described as a lyneal interval in which a multitude of productions, varied grave and gay ditties kabi tappās, yātrā pārhekāli, dkap kirlan bāni devotional songs and exquisite hits of love-lynes were pointing upon the literary

A lyric interval botween 1700-1830

world a flood of delicions harmony There is, no donht, a sprinkling of narrative and descriptive verse of the more serious type but barring this

every poet was a natural vocalist and never there was a time when little songs were more abundant. Although carelessly fashioned these charming little things possess all the attributes of a successful song and seem to be alive with the energy of music. Even the most insignificant person in this synod of latter day poets has a constant tendency to break unawares into singing and catch the spirit of melody which seemed to be in the air. The spirit itself is not so common and the gift of song making not so usual, let us therefore value them while they are here and give thom their due homage.

One specific and important phase of this song literature is represented by tappā writers who possess this vocal quality in no mean degree, but to many a modern reader the exact signification of the term tappā seems to have been lost. A tappā is generally taken to be a melodious trifle, a savorry tittle lyric of the crote type in which

eloticism connotes wanton of fibald sensuality  $Tapp\bar{a}$ , however, is a technical term which denotes, like dhrupad and kheyāl, a specific mode of style of musical composition, lighter, briefer yet more variegated Etymologically derived from a Hindi word which means 'tripping' of 'frisking about' with the light fantastic toe, a  $tapp\bar{a}$  means a little song of a light nature. It is more condensed than dhrupad and kheyāl, having only  $\bar{a}sth\bar{a}yr$  and  $antar\bar{a}$ , and certainly more lively. Being essentially a specific style of musical composition, songs of all soits, erotic, devotional

Its characteristic quality and impoitance

on otherwise, may be composed in this style, but it was suited by its very nature for lighter love-songs and in Bengali at least it had established

itself peculiarly and principally for that purpose. As its name implies and its history shows, the  $tapp\bar{a}$  is not indigenous but it was imported from abroad. It deals with the "minor facts" of ait unable by its form and nature to compass the "major" but it has a distinct value as an entirely novel mode of ait and as a protest against the conventional literary tradition

When Nidhu began to sing—and Nidhu Bābu is the earliest important  $tapp\bar{a}$ -writer of whom we have any record we have, on the one hand, the dictatorship of

Bhāiat Chandia and of Rām-prasād, on the other, the flourishing period of Kabi-poetry and other forms of

¹ See Joges Chandra Rāy, Bāngālā Sabda kosa under tappā In Sangīt tānsen (1299 B S, pp 66 69) two styles of musical composition are mentioned—Dhrupad and Rangīn gān, under dhrupad there are 24 varieties while Rangīn gān is of 50 kinds Kheyāl and tappā are said to be varieties of the latter class In Sangīt-rāg-kalpadrum by Kṛṣnūnanda Byūs (Sūhitya Panṣat ed 1916, vol III, p 294), Nidhu Bābu's tappās are comprised under Bāngālā Rangīn Gān Tappā, unlike Kabi, Pamchāli or Tātiā, was essentially Baithakī gān (or songs for the drawing room) which was appreciated chiefly, if not wholly, by the upper classes

popular literature. If the date of Bhamt Chandm's death be 1,00 and that of Ram prassed a fon years later Ramnidhi Gupta must have been at that time a young man of nineteen or twenty and the influence of Blogra Chandra and Ram prasal existed widely throughout this period even down to the middle of the 10th century. On the other hand all the carliest Kabiwalse and Parichali Lars were Nidhii Babiis contemporaties for the latter lived up to 1838 Nidhu Babu therefore and most of the tings writers who fellowed lum were form and fired no in the mid t of the conventional literary tradition which these two characteristic pleases of contemporary literature represented But Aidhu Baba followed neither of these beaten paths, he struck out into an entirely novel and original line With the examples of Bharat Chandra's Bidyasundar and of Rum prasud s devotional songs on the one hand, not to sucal of the solated initiations of still earlier styles and with Kabi gun and other forms of popular literature on the other Rammidhi chose to maugurate a new type of love-poetry in Bengali in imitation of Hindi tanpa and theval no doubt but with a consider able radication of an original vein Considering the nuquestioned dominance of the current rehools and traditions. it is no little or mean indication of courage originality and genius to establish a new mode of art and in this respect the importance and originality of Nidhu and the tama writers can never be exaggerated

The characteristic charm and value of these tappas therefore hes in the fact that they are spontaneous and free They are not hampered by time-honoured conven

tions nor do they pay any homage to established schools and forms of art. They speak of love no doubt an eter nally engaging theme with poets of all times, but they do not speak of Bidyā and Sundar of Rādhā and Krṣna. The poet looks into his own heart and writes, he sings of his own feelings, his own joys and sollows, his own triumph and defeat, he does not seek the conventional epic-of narrative framework for the expression of what he thinks and feels not does he take refuge under the cloak of parakīya bhāb which earlier poets thought essential. The exquisite lyric cry becomes rampant and

and assertion of the personal element

objective, if not always natiative and epic, the inward feeling seldom or

universal Ancient literature is mostly

never out-tops the outward vision, and whatever the poet speaks of himself he expresses through his suitable mouth-pieces. With the  $tapp\bar{a}$ -writers came an outburst of the personal element, an overflow of sensibility, an enfranchisement of the passion and the imagination for the universal heart of man must be touched through what is most personal and intimate. The sense of the difficulty and complexity of modern problems is, no doubt, absent in them nor do they possess the finish and refinement of modern lyrics, yet the  $tapp\bar{a}$ -writers foreshadow in their own way that instrospective element which has since developed itself in such great measure, some think out of all measure, in modern poetry.

The  $tapp\bar{a}$ -writers, therefore, possess originality at an epoch in which nothing of great value was being produced in poetry, they attempt at simple and natural, though not colloquial, diction and write with an easy and careless vigour, they are truthful to nature and avoid frigid conventionality and classicality. But they had as much

Novel and original but not entirely modern

of the new spirit as their readers were then fit for, and though their work contained the seeds of the impending change of taste, it is an

absurdity to represent them as thoroughly revolutionary or entirely 'modern' Regarded from the standpoint of form their songs incline more to the old than to the new. They write with ease and naturalness no doubt but the varying measures and molodies of the coming age were not for them. In ideas and general tone also they did not venture to go beyond certain limits. They preserve in a degree the old posture and the old manner But in spirit and temper if not in anything else, they herald the new age. The contrast between them and writers like Jaynärilyan Ghoşul who was almost contem

Intermediate place between the old and the new spirit, poraneous, will exhibit the whole difference between the old and the new poetical instincts. They were

therefore, like intermedianes between the old and the new poets and although casting a lingering look behind they stand at the threshold of the now age of poetry

Rammidhi Gupta (or simply and endearingly Nidhu Babu) was the earliest and by far the most important

Ramnichl Gupta or Nichn Babu, the car liest and most important ( ppl writer writer of this group. There was a time when people went into ecstasies over Nidhu Babus songs and singing It is not clear whether Nidhu Bahu

was the first dealer in this new species or whether it was he who introduced it into Bengali but the extraordinary power which he displayed and the enormous popularity he enjoyed justify the high eulogy bestowed upon him by his glorious mokname the Son Wifis of Bengal? As a result of the capricious instability of changing taste. Nidhin Bahu s songs are sometimes severely deprecated to-day and seldom read yet from the artistic as well as historical standpoint these neglected songs it must be admitted possess considerable value and importance.

Rāmnidhi Gupta was horn in 1711 A. D. (1118 B. S.) in the house of his maternal uncle at the village of Chārāptā near Tribenī. His Tather hyed at Kumārtulī in Calentta where Nidhu's descendants still reside. Nidhu came with

his lather to Calcutta in 1717 where His life he learnt Sanscrit and Persian and also a bit of English from a missionary? Through the efforts of his co-villager Ramt inn Palit, dewan of Chhapra Collectorate, he obtained in 1776 the situation of a clerk in the same office where he continued for 18 years He gave up the post through a difference of opinion with his official superior Jaganniohan Mukhopādhyāy who had succeeded Ramtann in the office of the dewan, and returned to Calcutta While residing in Chhapra, Nidhu used to learn the theory and practice of music from an expert Mohammedan musician but on finding after some time that the master was unwilling to imput his knowledge to such a quick-witted disciple he gave up Mohammedan music and himself began to compose Bengali songs on the pattern of Hindi tappas married thrice in 1761, in 1791, and in 1794 or 1795 By his first wife he had a son who died early, but by . his third wife he had four sons and two daughters, of whom the eldest son and daughter and the youngest died in his life time. He lived almost for a century and died at the very advanced age of 97 in 1839 4

These biographical details are gathered from various sources but chiefly from the account written by Isvai Gupta in his Sambād Prabhākai (Śrāban 1261 B S) from which is compiled also the life prefixed to the 3rd edition of Nidhu Babus Gītaratna, published in 1257 B S

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Nārāyan, Jaistha, 1323, p 739

s Journal of the Bengal Academy of Literature, vol 1, no 6, p 4

For more details, see my article in  $S\bar{a}hitya$  Parisat Patrik $\bar{a}$ , 1324, pp 108 110

During the time he lived in Calcutta he obtained considerable popularity by his music and his sone 1. A bur shed was crected at Battala Shobhabazar wheo Nidhn used to sing every night before un appreciative assembly of the rich and the elite of Calcutta. His popularity subsequently the sitting was shifted to the house of Rasikehand Gosvami of Bagbazar Nidhu Babu was nover a professional singer but he was eagerly sought for and respected by the higher social circles of the then Calcutta. Though himself only ao amateur and not a Kabiwala, it was chiefly through his efforts that in 1212 13 B S a "reformed" akidai party was established in Calcutta. Mohan Chand Basy of Bagbazar. who first introduced kan-akkdar and set the tide armingt the fashion of kabe and akkdae first learnt the new style from Nidhu Bābu whom he ulways respected as his master . We also learn that Nidhu was a man of grave and sedate character but of contented and cheerful duenosition. There are rumouss about his partiality for one Srimati a mistress of Maharana

one Srimati a mistress of Maharaja Maharada of Vinrshidabad but his biographers take paius to show that this was nothing more than the intimate feeling of cordial friendship. Nevertheless many of his love songs were inspired by her and composed to her honour

That Nidhu Bābu was an export munician and that the musical quality of his sougs was of a very high order is indicated by the fact that Krujāmenda included nearly 180 sougs of Nidhu Bābu in his great cyclopodia of Indian sougs. In any estimate of Nidhu Bābu a (eppār this feature can never be ignorod

Prefatory life In Giarana also Sambad Prabhakar loc c t
But see preface to Manuskan Gidball

Prefatory life in Gitanetas; Sambād Prebhākar Šreban 1 1201 The stories relating to Srimati and Nidha Bāba giren in Krūpne loz. cit are mere gesetly fables! ben from a cheap fill-authon Mested Baţtall publication, which was first brought to my notice by Rober Benefating Bayes faithful Product An accurate and exhaustive collection of Nidhu Bābu's tappās has not yet been published. A year before his death was published his Gitaratua Grantha, which

His Gitaratna Gran tha how far authentic and reliable purported to be a complete collection of his songs. It contains a preface in which the author states his intention of publishing a correct edition

of his song, which had enculated in various forms. A revised edition of this work with a short sketch of Nidhu Bābn's life (compiled chiefly from Sambād Prabhākar) was published in 1868 by his son Jaygopāl Gupta. This edition does not differ materially from the first, the only additions take the form of 7 ākhdār songs, one brahma-sangīt, one syāmāhrayak gīt and one bānībandanā. There are numerous interior editions?

<sup>া</sup> It contains 141 pages, of which pp 18, in the copy possessed by the Salutya Parisat Labrary, are wanting. The title page says প্রিপ্রামান। শাবং। গীতরত গ্রন্থ প্রিরামানিদি শুলু রচিত গৌড়িফ সাধুভাষায় লালা প্রকার ছলে রাগরাগিনী সহিত শক্ষোলিত হইশ সন ১২৪৪ শালে বলিকান্তা বিশ্বলোদ প্রেষে মুদ্রিত হইল ৪ এই পুত্রব শোভাষাদ্বায় প্রন্তাম সেনের ইত্রিটেনং ২০ বাটিতে অব্যেধন করিলে পাইবেন।

In 1252 BS (1845) Krşnananda Byas Ragasagarın his encyclo pædie anthology, Saugīt-iaga kalpadrum gives a collection of Bengali songs in which he includes more than 150 tappas of Nidhu Babu mostly taken from Gitaratna (31 Ed) and arranged almost in the same order In 1257 BS (1850) an edition (marked as 3rd edition) of Gitaratna was published from Battala but it contains numerous doubtful songs taken from other sources, the genumeness of which however is extremely questionable. In 1293 (1886) was published Bangīya Sangīt-ratnamālā or Kabibar Nidhu Būbur Gītābalī a very uncritical collection compiled by Asnton Ghosal (from 55 College Street, Hindu Library, Calcutta) It contains about 160 songs, but in order to make the collection attractive, songs from different sources are passed off as Nidhu Bābu's The same remarks apply also to the more recent edition (2nd Ed 1303) of Nidhu Bübu's songs published by Baisnab Charan Basak from Battala entitled Gitabali or Nidhu Babur (Rămuidhi Gupter) Yābatīya Gītasamgraha Besides these, selections

and various anthologies were published in later times but the two editions mentioned are the most anthentic sources of Nidhu Babu's songs But oven in Gitaratna, songs are given of which the authorship is uncertain and it cannot be. at least, in any way taken as a complete and exhaustive collection of the songs of Nidhu Babu 1 Some songs for instance, which are given here are also to be found in Tarucharau Das's Manmatha Kabra (1247 B.S.) Banwari Lal's lorana-gandha or munsi Eradot's Aurarigabhans (1252 B.S ), although it cannot be definitely determined whether it is a case of unacknowledged appropriation by subsequent authors On the other hand, the famous song singifica বলে ভালবাসিলে। আমার এতাব এই তোমা বই আৰু লানিনে? 15 attributed successively to Sridhar Kathak, Ram Basu and Nidhu Babu and is not included in Gitaratea Such celebrated songs as the following নয়নেরে দোৰ কেন। আধি কি মন্ত্ৰাতে পাবে না হলে মন মিশন a 2 or colula জগনা তমি প্ৰাণ এ মহীমগুলে। or তবে প্রেমে কি হব হত। আমি বারে ভালবালি সে যদি ভাগুবাসিত 14 always attributed by tradition and hy different editors to Nidhu Babu are omitted in Citaratea 5

from Vidhn Babus songs are given in the numerous anthologies of Bengall songs and poems such as Sangit edr-entygraha (Bahgabhai edition 1800) vol ii; Rasabhānd r edited by Obandra Sekhar Mukhopādhyāy (Banmati odice, 1806); Bingalir Gas (Bahgabai); Pritiglit edited by Abināā Chandra Ghon; Bahga Sāh iya Purichay edited by Dinesh Chandra Sen etc But the songs in these authologies are often indiscriminately selected from various sources (besides Gitaraina) and are very survilable from the standpoint of critical scholarable.

This question has been discussed in some detail in my paper in Sakitya Paritat Patrike (1824 pp. 103 107)

Bangitear Bangraha p. 875 ; Pritigiti pp. 153-164.

Ibid, p 851 (bid p. 127; Rasebkandar p 107

Prit glit p. 376, Nidha Böbur Gližbell p. 172 According to others, it was composed by Sridhar Kathak

In Sakyit rdg-kalpadrum and among the additional songs in the third edition of O(t) wiss (p. 148) the curious song beginning

This will indicate not only the uncertainty of authorship which bears upon many of these songs but also it will probably demonstrate that the Gilmatia does not exhaust all the songs of this prolific songswriter. Nevertheless, published during his life time and directly under his authority and supervision, the Gilmatia must be taken as the original and the most authentic and reliable collection of Nidhii Bābu's songs.

To many a modern reader Nidhn Babu is known only his name and reputation, his tappas me very seldom read or sung and are often condemned without being read or sung. Writing only sixteen years after Nidhii Bābu's death, Isvai Gupta ১৯১১ অনেকেই 'নিবু' 'নিবু' কহেন, কি & নিধু শৰ্দাট কি, অৰ্থাৎ এই নিধু কি গাঁতেৰ নাম, কি স্লবৈৰ লাম, কি वार्शिव नाग, कि गांअवव नाग, कि कि? তাहा छाउ नर्छन। The established reputation of many a hygone songster has, no doubt, been swept away by capricious change of taste from their venerable basements, but the chief ground for assigning Nidhu Bābu's works to obscurity and oblivion is said by unjust and ignorant criticism to be alleged immoral tendency Kailāš Chandra Ghos in his pamphlet on Bengali Interature (1885) mechanically echoed this opinion when he wrote 'ইহাৰ অধিকাংশ গীতই অশ্লীলতা ছই' and Chandrasekhai Mukhopādhyāy is not less severe or

with কণারে আকাৰ জব ছাড়ি লয়ে বল দীর্থ ইকার is given as Nidhin Bābu's, but it was composed by Ānanda Nūrāyan Ghos, author of Gītābalī, as the bhanitā আন্দেশৰ নিৰেশন মন দিয়া শুন মন would clearly indicate and similarly in Bangīya sangīt ratnamālā, the song headed পিরীতি প্রশ্ন বতন and attributed to Nidhu Bābu is to be found in Michael Madhusādan's Padmābatī In the Battalā edition Nidhu Babu Gītābalī as well as in Anāth Kṛṣṇa Deb's Banger Kabitā the song তোলাৰ বিরহ মণে বাঁচি যদি বেখা হবে is assigned to Nidhu Bābu but its author is Jagannāth Prasād Basu Mallik and it is omitted in Gītaiatna (See Prītigīti, p 461)

unjust when he rejected these songs as vulgar expression of sensual passion which i , to quote his words, 'আমুবিসর্ভনে প্রাধান, নাংখ্যমর্থে কুটত, ভোগবিদানে ক্লুবিত, নাম্ম্পাবেশপ series '1 It cannot be denied indeed that there is a tendency. in these old time songsters of sea oning their songs with indelicacies and audacities of expression which were sometimes very emovable to their andience, but what we have already said on the moral tendency of the habiwalas in general and of Ram Basu's biraka in particular applies to a certain extent to the present question. Without entering into the problem of art for art's sake or art for the sake of morality, the whole controversy over the olleged morality or immorality of these songs is somewhat irrelevant or futile. We must take them for what they are worth and guard at once against reading rigid morals into them or condemning them for want of morals. In

Crude workmanship hot naturalness and sincerity the first place we need recall what Bankim Chandra said with regard to similar allegation on Isvar Gupta's poetri ( %45 crite for cribi ato win

বাসিত; এখন সম্ভত্ত উপন্ত লোকের অসহায় ") and this distinction between gross and fine workmanship i essential and lies at the very root of certain definite aspects of ancient and modern Bengah literature. Inspite of all its faults this gross workmanship has one great advantage re, that if it is savage uncouth and grotesque it is at the same time trenchant vivid, and full of nervous and muscular energy. Polished or refined embroiders has its charm no doubt but it is also factitious and artificial. It lacks the tone of easy, genuine and natural passion it is something

In the same strain M M Haraprand Sastri speaks of Nidhu Babos of ppis as ADERTS which was but oven a critic like Bahkim Chandra could not resist the temptation of having a fling at them in his B sobrids

The distinction sor-disant, insipid and incomplete drawn by modern critics between ornate and grotesque manner, between gothic and classic art, though overworked and often misunderstood, is one of the fundamental distinctions applicable to a certain extent to this It may be a matter of taste whether a man piefers jagged angularity to harmonious joundness, but what is angulai, what is gross, what is grotesque is nearer life in its primal sensations and in its terrible sincerity It is like the one fresh from the mines with all its dust and dioss yet pure and unalloyed In the songs of the Kabiwalas and in the tappas of Nidhu Babu, we enjoy these sugged sensations of the natural man, if you will, who regards his passions as their own excuse for being, who does not pretend to domesticate them or present them under an ideal glamour. Their outward suggedness as a mark of inward clarity. It is partly for this reason that these gross and chaotic songs possess so much appeal for the robust and keen perceptions of the masses but are entirely maccessible to the decent, comfortable and self-righteous attitude of the bourgeoisie or the refined gentlemanliness of the aristocrat

These poets were, therefore, in a sense realists or interpreters of real and natural emotions, and their songs are in the legitimate tradition of nature, although not always acceptable to the refined palate of the literary taster. It would, however, be absurd at the same time to suppose that these songs do not possess any touch of that idealism without which no poetry is poetry, they have enough of idealism but they do not deal with ab-

Intense realism of for instance the intense realism of their idea of love. With them, Love is not a cold white ideal rising moon-like over the rapt

vision of the love-sick shepherd prince. It is not extra mundane, volatile and vague, losing itself in the worship of a phantom woman or rising into mystic spirituality and indefinite cantheism, nor is it sickhed over with the subtleties of decadent psychologists or with the subjective malady of modern love nocts. It is exastieratingly impressionist and admirably plain-speaking. It does not talk about raptures and ideals and gates of beaven but walks on the earth and speaks of the insati able hunger of the body and the exquisite intoxication of the senses as well. For these poets realised as every true passionate poet has realised that passion in its essence is not idealism which looks beyond the real but idolatry which finds the ideal in the real for passion is primarily and essentially realistic. It cannot live upon abstructions and generalisations it must have actualities to feed noon. It is not our purpose to consider here whether this idolatrous intoxication of passion is good or bad, but it cannot be denied that it bore ample fruit in the astonishing realism of their love-songs and brought their poetry nearer to world and life and to the actual and abiding amnit of love.

Love is conceived, therefore, in its concrete richness and variety, and not merely under its broad and ideal aspects. This essential realism of passion leads the poet

Nidhu Babus (apple not offensive or immoral. to take body and soul together and not accept the one for the other. He is therefore always strong vivid and honest very seldom dreamy ethereal

or mystic. A sort of traditionary ill repute however, has very unduly got itself associated with the tappus especially with the exquisite hits of Nidha Bātu's songs. There is a good deal of frankness and a passionate sense of the good things of earth, it is true, but even judged by very

উদর ত্রতারা আধার নরনতারা তার গণ নির্মিত্ত কারণ না জানি আমি আছি কি রসে খুনিরে। নিশি হর অবগান বেহুণ করিছে শ্রোণ কাহানে কৃহিব বদ তাহারে কে কবে গিছে ঃ

ৰবিব বিবাদ ছাই বিজেছ মিলন হবের বাহিনে সাবে নেদন এমন ॥

নগদে নগদে হাবি অনিনিব হয় আবি গদক শঙ্চিদে আমি হই অতি হুখী কি মানি অধন হও আই তর দেবি ॥

গাৰিলে কৰিব দান কত মনে করি দেখিলে ভাষার মুখ তখনি গানরি s '

থাকিতে বাগনা বায় চন্দন বলে ভূমধেনে ভয় সেহ কয়ে কি কথনে ॥ °

মিলন কি ত্ৰমণ ছবৰে উদৰ হল ব্যৱহা চত্ৰেৰ হাত বিজেদ চলিল। °

সে শাগন আগন বে আগন অধন কলো কহিছে। দরণনে পানগনে অমির বচনে পারাণ প্রবদ স্থাবী আধির সহিছে। ই

আর কি দিব তোধারে স পিরাছি মন মনের অধিক আর আছে কি রতন # 8

Ibid, p 70 Ibid, p 20. Ibid, p. 100 Ibid p. 137 Ibid, p. 119. Ibid, p. 132. Ibid p. 44.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Gitaratza, 3rd ed p 130.

হেবিলে ২বিষ্চিত না হেবিলে নবি কেমনে এমন জনে বহিব পাসবি॥¹

বিচ্ছেদে যে ক্ষতি তাহা অধিক মিলনে আঁথিব কি আশা পুৰে ক্ষণ দবশনে॥"

কিবা দিবা বিভাববী পাসরিতে নাহি পাবি আঁথি অনিমিথ পথ হেবিতে হেবিতে॥ <sup>3</sup>

are examples of undoubtedly line but spasmodic buists of the miraculous gift, but, excepting a few poems which are flawless gems in form and substance, his verse often stumbles and halts where there is need for a brisk and sustained pace

But he was undoubtedly a poet of high natural endowments, and the untutoied feelings and passions of his heart he could express with unparalleut true poetic qualleled terseness and precision of touch. The rarest poetic feeling is oftener found in simpler verse than in an elaborate and studied masterpiece. The best and most characteristic of Nidhu Bābu's songs are love-songs, but the limited subject of his verse never matters much, for in them he sometimes reaches a variety and a simple yet magnificent quality which is beyond the accurate black-and-white artist. His oft-quoted songs

নগ্নেবে দোষ কেন। মনেবে ব্ঝাপ্তে বল নমনেবে দোষ কেনু। আঁথি কি মজাতে পাবে না হলে মনমিলন॥ আধিতে বে বত হেরে সকলি কি মনে ধরে বেই বাকে মনে করে সেই তার ধনেবিয়ান ॥ 1

তারে ভূনিও কেখনে।
প্রাণ স নিথাছি বারে আগন ছেনে।
আর কি সে রুপ ভূনি প্রেম ভূনি করে ভূনি
গুগরে রেখেছি কিখে অতি থতনে।
স্বাই বলে আধারে সে ভূনেছে ভূন তারে
সে দিন ভনিও তারে বে দিন করে শমনে।

or even some of his less known pieces-

কে ও বার চাহিতে চাহিতে বীর গমন অতি থানিতে থানিতে। বতদপ বার দেবা না পারি দহিতে আবি যোর অনিধিক হেরিতে থেরিতে॥ <sup>3</sup>

আনপ ভর করি গাড়াইরে হান্দরী হেরিতে মনোরলনে । নয়নে মনস্থোগ নাছিক ভর গালনে । অতি অল প্রাকিত মুখগল গ্রেন্টিত ছিল্ল করি আছে ধেখ ভই নয়নবল্পনে ॥ গ

না হতে পতন তক ধহন হবৈ আগে আমান এ অঞ্চাপ তারে বেন নাছি লাগে। চিতে চিতা মালাইতে তাহে ছবকুণ বিবে আগনি হবৈ দথা আগনানি অধ্যাগে। <sup>6</sup>

Omitted in Gitarat — but given as Nkihu Bābu s in P Uiglis, p. 154; Sakgit-sar-sasigraka, ol. ii p. 875; Rasabkā dār p. 107

Omitted in Citaret a but given in Citabell or Aidha Eiber Citarathornha, p. 131; Rasabhuadar p 100. In Prit git the song is attributed to Harimohan Réy

Oliaretea p 87

Ibid n. 87

Sangit-sår-sangraha vol il p. 850; omitted in Gitaratas

বিচ্ছেদেতে থায় প্রাণ না পাবি বাথিতে কাতব নয়ন মনে লাগিল কহিতে। শুনি নন কবে ধ্যান প্রাণেবে বাঁচাতে চাকুষ বিহীনে নাহি উপায় ইহাতে॥ ¹

are fine instances of what he was capable of achieving at his best, and his best is not something to be lightly spoken of

Nidhu Bābu in the preface to his Gitaratna states that his book is not the first of its kind in Bengali, to what other works of the same nature he refers cannot be determined but we know for certain the existence of a collection of songs by Radhamohan Sen, a Kayastha musician who lived at Kānsāripādā, Calcutta, and who published his Sangit taranga2 in 1818 (1275 B S) This work, however, is an elaborate treatise on music with the description of Rāgas and Rāginīs and is various Rādhā Mohan Sen and in no way directly concerned with his Sangīt taranga our enquiry. It however about 123 sougs subsequently collected together and published with some additional pieces in the author's later work Rasa-sāra-sangīt (1839) These songs, though very popular at one time, are not all tappas nor do they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gitaratna, p 21

There is a copy of the first edition in the Sāhitya Pariṣāt Library bearing this title page নহাও ওরস। ভাষাত্রয়। প্রাবাধনেইন নেন দান। কুও। কলিকাভার বাঙ্গালি। ত্রেনে। বাঙ্গালা বর্ম নিয়ে। ছাগা ২ইল সন ১২২৫। ১৭৪০ শক। pp contents and 1-267 Another edition in 1256 BS by his grandson Ādināth Sen Dās. An excellent edition of this work has been published by the Bangabāsī Office and edited by Harimohan Mukhopādhyāy in 1310 BS (1903 AD), which also includes additional songs from Rasa-sāra-sangīt

exhibit any marked literary characteristics <sup>1</sup> His short piece <sup>2</sup>

মনের কথা, বই, এবন অরি।
না কহিলে মরি, তাহা কহিলেও মরি।
বদি না চাহি কহিতে চাহি গোপনে রাখিতে
করে বদি অনবের তেল সে বরি।
কিন্তিং কহিতে বার কি করে।তাহ
রসনা বহিতা বার বব কি করি।

is so much better than the rest that it would be hardly fair to quote anything else unless we could quote a good deal more.

The minor group of lyrists and songsters in this section are not always strictly speaking writers of tappas but they wrote on amatory, devotional and other themes. It is unprofitable to take them in detail for none of them, not even Sridhar Kathak or Kulli Mirjā could approach Nidhu Babu in variety, extent or power, though all of them show more or less a touch of the natural vocal quality. Their songs (excepting perhaps some deservedly popular pieces of Sridhar) do not possess the rare ment of uniting the grace and imagery of the price to the music and fashion of song. They are hardly literary and are often carelessly made they are

His will নাট, হব নহি তান্ত বহন। বিনা খণানাৰ বৰ নাবাৰ নীবন। etc. is often praised but is chiefly imitative of Jayadebia স্বাধিননাহায়ের নাম প্রস্কাবনাহন, of Bidyspatis কঠিত ব্যাস তপু বহনি হয়ারি। বান নহ নাবাৰ ব বনারী and of Bám Basus হব নই তে, আনি বুবতী কেন বালাতে এলে বঙিপ্রি। The idea is conventional.

Besides the Bangaban edition, Pritigiti gives a good selection of Badhamohan a noticeable pieces.

Sangit teranga (Bangabiai edition), p. 20.

not meant to be read with tone and feeling but really demand to be sung. And what has been said with regard to the musical quality of the songs of the Kabiwalas apply with greater force to tappā-writers who were primarily musicians.

Of these later tuppā-writers, Sridhar Kathak stands next to Nidhu Babu in popularity, Sridhai Kathak poetic ment and probably in chronology Informations about his life and character are uncertain, indefinite and mostly un-He was born in the village of Bansbedia, reahable Hughli, probably in 1816 (1223 B S ) His father was Pundit Ratankrsna Suomain and his grandfather the famous kathak Lalchand Bidvabhusan himself was a Lathak of considerable power having leaint the art from Kālīcharan Bhattāchāryva of Berhampore but from his youth he was attached by natural prochvities to habi and pāmchāli parties. The songs which are now attributed to Śrīdhai aie, howevei, all of the tappā

His tappas curiously mixed up with those of Nidhu Babu

type and for these he is justly celebrated. Unfortunately the rival reputation Rāmuidhi has created much confusion and led to the general

attribution of many of Śrīdhar's songs to Rāmnidhi and it is almost impossible to-day to disentangle satisfactorily this question of disputed authorship. The famous song

ভালবাসিবে বলে ভালবাসিনে।
আমাৰ স্বভাৰ এই তোমা বই আৰ জানিনে।
বিধুমুখে মধুৰ হাসি দেখতে বড ভালবাসি
তাই শুধু দেখিতে আসি দেখা দিতে আসিনে॥

is popularly assigned to Nidhu Bābu for none but Nidhu Bābu was supposed capable of producing such a beautiful

piece but the song really belongs to Sridhar and is not included in Nidhu Babus Gitaratsa. The same remark applies to two other fine songs which deserve to be quoted here—

ঐ বার বার চার ক্ষিত্রে সম্বল্প নরনে কিয়াও গো কিয়াও গো ওরে অধিব-বচনে। হেরি ওয় অভিশান দূরে গোণ মোয় সান অধিব ২০০ছে আগে অতি সমার্গনে।

তৰে ক্ষেম্বে কি স্তৰ হতো।
আমি বাবে ভাৰথানি লৈ বহি ভাৰথানিতো।
কিংগুক শোতিত আৰে কেওকী কাউক হীনে
মূল কুটিত চক্ষ্যেই কুতে কল কৰিছে।
ক্ষেম্বাগ্ৰেমি কল হত বদি ফ্ৰীতন
বিজ্ঞেয় বাধ্বানৰ ভাষে যদি না পাকিতো।

The number of Sridbar's songs which have come down to us is very limited and not more than one hundred songs may be found attributed to him in different authologies.

Stidhar is undoubtedly one of the finest tappa writers of this period although he moves within a very limited and inferior range. Most of his songs writer speak of the bitterness of disappointed passion marked more or less by absence of rhetorical

In Bakochhighr Lethak (vol. i, p. 300) mention is made of 160 songs by Sridhar; Love-songs 121 and songs on Krypa and Rädhä 35 Symmthynyak 4, Gaarthiynyak 9 besides some miscellaneous pada But these have not yet been published Altogether nearly a hundred songs will be found amigued to Sridhar in different authologies and selections.

subtlety and presence of lyrical directness. Siddhar, like most of his contemporaries, is often shipshod and careless, but he is always forceful and direct. His faults are faults common to the group of too rapid composition, diffuseness and a certain share of the tricks and mannerisms of current verse, yet when he beats his music out, it has a touching and tender quality. In his best songs the words are few but the linked sweetness of his long-drawn-out melody has a charm of its own. We have quoted some of his well-known songs, here are two from his less known pieces.

আমাব মনোবেদনা কন্থ জানাওনা তায় শুনিলে আমাব হঃথ সে পাছে বেদনা পায়। না বানে না বানে ভাল ভাল থাকে সেই ভাল শুনিলে মগল তাব তবুও প্রাণ জুভাব॥

থাবত জীবন ববে কাবে ভালবাসিব না।
ভালবেসে এই হলো ভালবাসাব কি লাঞ্ছনা।
আমি ভালবাসি থাবে সে কডু ভাবে না মোবে
তবে কেন তাবি তবে নিধত পাই এ যন্ত্ৰণা।
ভালবাসা ভুলে যাব মনেবে বুঝাইব
পৃথিবীতে আব থেন কেউ কারে ভালবাসে না॥
1

It is impossible to overrate the quality displayed in the above passages, and one can, therefore, understand easily how Śrīdhai's songs got so curiously mixed up with Nidhu Bābu's masterpieces. But, inspite of this extraordinary charm, Śrīdhar is a singularly unequal poet and shines best in a volume of selection. Many passages are meie fustian, others have a beauty not often

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Premahār (a collection of love songs) ed Kṣīrod Chandra Rāy (1886), pp 94 95 the text of this song has a slightly different wording

surpassed Stidhar remain therefor, a poet great by

We pass briefly over the name of Kalidas Chattopadhyas (better known as Kali Mirja) a tappa writer of tolerable power and musician of great repute who flourished in the early years of the 19th century. His son, a both for their substance and their music had

halidas Chattopa dayay (Kall Mirja) and tained such instant and merited currency that when Kṛṣnānanda Byās Rāga-agar compiled his ener

mons evelopaidis of songs in 1815 (1252 BS) the thought it fit to include more than 250 songs of Kält Mirjä's composition. He was the son of one Bijavräni Chattopa'dhyāy a native of Gippipājā which was said to have learnt music in Benares. Laikhnon and Delhi and his appellation reja is said to betoken his high skill and profetency in that art. After residing for some time with Pratāpelaidra of Birdwan he came to Calcutta where he lived thereafter under the magnificent patronage of Cophinolau Thäkur. He passed his lat daws in the sacred city of Benares and died there, before 1825.

Kall Mirja composed songs on a variety of topics seenlar as well as religious of which his tappas and syamahisayat songs obtained considerable reputation in his devotional songs he follows

Ch racter of his the tradition of Ram pracid and in one or two pieces he has been able to

The entire work Sażyli rayd kalpodrum was published between 1812-49; the volume containing Benguli songs was printed in 1845. The date given in the introductory portion of All Mirjas (II lekari published by Amratali Bandyopuldysy in 1801 is located; See preface to Sabyli-rayd-kalpodrum (Salitya Parkat edition vol. (ii. p. \*)

eatch the spirit, if not the devotional cestasy, of the earlier devotee

আবে নন তৃই মজে যাবে কাণীপদ স্থধাবনে চতুৰ্ধৰ্ম নন পাৰি মুক্ত হবি ভব-পাশে। চবৰ কমল-দন্দ হও তাহে মকবন্দ তাজ আৰ অত্য ধন্দ, কাণী কাণী স্থৰেব ভাষে॥

শবাসনাব বি বাসনা আমানে এ প্রবঞ্চনা কালি কালি যত ভাবি তত বস নিজ্পনা। বতই ভাবি অস্তবে ততই হও অস্তবে দিতে চাই গো মন ভোবে, মন মনে থাবে না॥ দ

The same level and average quality also characterises his songs on Rādhā and Krsna and his tappās. His songs are uniformly pedestrian, if not always flat and dull, and monotonously destitute of the peculiar touch of phiasing, the eternising influence of style which characterises the songs of Nidhii Bābii or Śrīdhai Kathak. The only feature—a feature however which is hardly engaging—is his tendency towards the traditional rhetorical style and his fondness for tasteless concerts and crude devices of punning and alliteration. There is more of conventional poetical imagery than of natural emotion in his songs. One illustration would suffice?

অন্তবে অন্তব তাবে কবিব কেননে সই।
ননে নাহি মনে কবে তাহাব মন্তব বই।
যদি হয় কথান্তব নাহি হয় মতান্তব
আঁথি ঝবে নিবন্তব যদি গুৰন্তব হই॥

<sup>1</sup> Gītalaharī, pp 56 and 64

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid, p 102

This brings us practically to the end of the group of tappa writers who obtonologically belong to our period,

although in matters of date and Later group of chronology we are not on absolutely /arra writers firm and safe ground. The trade tion, however was carried on beyond the middle of the In Sangit raga Lalpadrum published in 10th century 1815 we find the songs of Kalidas Gangopadhyay Sibchandra Sarkar, Sib Chandra Ray and Ananda Naravan Ghos and Asutos Deli (Chlatu Babu) all of whom must have flour hed in their pootical glory between 1820 and 1840 Later on we get Jagannath Prasad Basu Mallik of Andul Kusi Prasad Ghos of Simla Calcutta, anthor of Gitulali and of a large number of English lynes Jadanath Ghos of Belur who wrote Sanget Manoranjan, Ramapati Bandyopadhyav author of Sangit unladerea Hari Mohan Rus Ram Chand Bandyopadhyay Dayal Chand Mitra and a host of others This miner poetry is of a strangely composite order vacillating between the finest poetic quality of Nidhii Babu and the dull flatness of Kali Mirja. Instead of dealing with these latter day songsters in a piecemeal fashion here we reserve them for detailed treatment in the next volume for the import ance of this movement did not end with the period with

It would be convenient to notice here briefly the devo-

which we are at present concerned but continued to be sufficiently prominent even in the next quarter of this

century

Gopal Ude does not propo it belo g to this group of Butkaki tappd writers. He was a witrburala and although lis songs go by the name of tappd, in quality and ki d they belong to a different species.

do with an entirely different theme and forming a group by themselves, represent a phase of song-writing of this period closely connected with the writing of the passionate love-lyrics. From individualistic and secular lovesongs to the ecstatic and personal expression of religious

longing is but a step, the intermediate

Devotional songs stage being supplied by the songs bearing upon the personal-impersonal

theme of the loves of Krana and Rādhā But it is remarkable that while tuppā-writers like Nidhu Bābu, Śrīdhar Kathak oi Kālī Miijā often pass on from lovelyiics to devotional songs, the writers of devotional songs like Rām Prasād oi Kamalākānta, on the other hand, seldom condescend to the more mundane theme of personal love-lyiics

The most interesting bulk of these devotional songs relates to the worship of divinity under the special image

of Sakti, although there are several songs which relate to other religious cults. Its origin must be traced to

the recrudescence and ultimate domination of the Śakti-cult and Śākta form of literature in the 18th century, which in its turn traced its origin in general to the earlier tāntire form of worship Rām-prasād, the greatest exponent of this kind of song-writing of this period, began his career however as the author of the conventional Bidyāsundar,

Rām-prasād, his tran sition from Bidyāsun dār to devotional songs

but even through the erotic atmosphere of this half-secular narrative poem, the devotional fervour of the Sakta-worshipper expresses itself. The same

may be said, although in a lesser degree, of Bhārat Chandra who was also the author of a few devotional  $\tilde{Sa}$   $\tilde{l}ta$  lyrics But when Rām-prasād later on realised the superiority of his eestatic religious effusions as something more

congenial to the trend of his life and genius and burst forth even in the pages of his more studied and literary narrative poem—

## গ্ৰন্থ বাবে গড়াগড়ি গানে হব ব্যস্ত

the literary world began to be ficoded with the tunefol melodies of religious cestasy as a reaction from the comparatively and thraidom of conventional verse

The conflict between the Sakta and the Baisnab sects obtains in Benguli literature from time immemorial. As on the one land the Bai nab poets steeped in the speculative, mystre and emotional realisations of the Srimad bhagabat were giving a poetic shape of their religious long

The Bakta and the Balspab poets; their different literary methods. ings in terms of human passion and emotion and figuring forth the divinity as an ideal of love were attempting to bind the infinite through the finite

londs of life's sweetest and best affections the Saktas on the other hand were singing the praise and describing the glory of Adyā Sakit through their Chandl manigal poems Regarded as literary ventures these longer and more studied efforts of the Saktas writers no doubt hold a conspacious place in ancient Bengal literature but the Saktas could not attain the lyric predominance and passionate enthusiasm of Baisnab song writers for there is a better scope for losing oneself in poetic rapture in dealing with bātsalya sakhya dasya mudharya and the other familiar and daily felt emotional states then in describing in a sober narrative form the feats and glories of the particular

Adoration of god head as the Mother first realised by Ram practid. deity The taxtras no doubt inculcate the worship of the deity nuder the image of the Mother but no votary of the cult before Ram pracad realized the

exceedingly poetic possibilities of this form of adoration We

cannot indeed definitely state whether Ram-prasad was the first poet and devotee to realise this for we find contemporaneously with him a host of such song-writers as, either independently or influenced by him, wrote in the same Rājā Kisnachandia himself was a composei of such songs and we find the literary tradition maintained in the loyal family by his two sons Sibehaudia and Sambhūchandia, as well as inferior members of the same family like Narachaudia, Śińschandia, Naieschandra and A few songs of this style still remains which contain the bhanitā of Māhāiājā Nanda Kumāi — It cannot be said that all these song-writers were inspired by the example and influence of Ram-plasad, on the contrary, they might be following a course of religious and literary development which had begun independently but which was made so resplendent by the superior faith and genius of Ram-plasad Whatevel might be the fact, it cannot be denied that it was in Rām-plasād that this new form of adoration of the Supreme Being under the image of the Mother a form naturally congenial to the Bengali tempenament finds its characteristic expression and discovers a new, easy and natural mode of religious realisation through fine songs, reflecting intense religious ferrour in the exceedingly human language of filial affection. The image of divine motherhood, to Rām-prasād and his followers, is not a mere abstract symbol of dryine grace or dryine chastisement but it becomes the means as well as the end of a definite spiritual realisation Rising to the radiant whiteheat of childlikeness, these poets realise in the emotions of the child the emotions of a devotee Like the child, the poet is now grave, now gay, now petulant, now despaning, not with the capilcious purposelessness of a child but with the deep intensity of purposeful devotion Thus, not only Ramprasad in his numeions songs but even his follower, Kumar



mystery of his mystery stands clear and visible in its own familiar light before our eyes

This transfiguration of the princial instinct of filial affection of

A child crying in the night A child crying for the light

into a religious pliantasy or poetic rapture is a remarkable achievement of Rām-prasād's songs. The incommunicable

Transfiguration of a primitive human in stinct, and appeal for a more emotional form of teligion

communion between the human soul and the divine is communicated through the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of the child's feeling to the mother. This new stand-

point vivifies religion with a human element and lifts one of the primitive elements of human nature into the means of glorious chaltation. It brings back colour and beauty into religious life and appeals to the imagination and the feelings Its essential truth lies in its appeal for a more emotional religion and in its protest against the hard intellectuality of doctrines and dogmas It is not the isolated expression of moral or religious ideas but its fusion into a whole in one memorable personality, expressing itself in a distinctly novel yet familiai mode of utterance, which makes these songs so remarkable. The tantuc form of worship has its terrible as well as its beautiful aspect, ın these latter-day Śākta writers we find an assertion of the rights of the emotional and the esthetic in human nature In this view the achievements of Rām-piasād, ably seconded by other devotional songsters who followed in the line, is of a kind which most of the great religious or moral leaders of the race in some way or other performed and which opened up a new source of elevating joy

But in this idea of the Divine Mother  $(m\bar{a}tr\,bh\bar{a}b)$  which primarily follows the authority of the tantras and the

natural mental bent of the age and the race and the individual Ram praced was not hitle in

Influence of Baismab

fluenced directly or indirectly by the Baisnab idea of balsalva Throngh

ont the history of the Sakta and Baisnab conflict we find, no doubt, the two sects directly antagonistic to each other and in Bhārat Chandra even in Rām prasād himself, we find the virulence of a militant sectarian zeal. But as on the one hand we find a Baisnab poet like Chandidās making use of lāxlīric imager, and lāxlīric idea of satchakra sādkan, on the other we see Rūm prasād, a confirmed

Sakta poet considerably infinenced and imitation of by Baismab ideas in his Käli kirtan Bradabanita, and Armakirtan Not only does he

imitate 10 I laces the characteristic diction and imagery of Baismab padabalis but he deliberately describes the godharās milan of Bhagabati in imitation of the bi saāban lilā of Śrikṛṣṇa. It does not concern us here whether the girl Pārbati figures in a better artistic light with a berm and pāchanbādi in her land or whether the picture deserves the sarcastic comments of Ajn Gosvāmi! what we need note is that here as well as in his āgamani songs, Rām prasād is unmistakably utilising Baiṣṇab ideas. This imitation of the biratāban-līlā or of the bātaalys bāāba of Yasodā for Bāla Gopāl was bowever not wholly isolated.

কিবা কারিকরের আরব কারিকুটি। তার মধ্যে ছব পার রাধিবাহে পুরি। সংগ্রাধে হয় পার সংগ্রক বল তার পারে নধিপুর পারব কিবের হল।

quoted from Chandidia in Bir bhāmi (new series) vol. ii p 15 which see for a masterly exposition of Pracedi scholt

মা হালে পাৰৰ তাৰ কাঁটাংগাৰ আনগ্ৰহ মেৰে হয়ে মেত কি চৰাৰ। ইভাগি ১৪৪ spotadie of objectless. It indicated a general desire with these poets of the 18th century to afford a common ground of reconciliation and good feeling between the two antagonistic sects. There is no distinction in reality, says Rām-piasād in many a song, between Bisnii and Sakti, between Kālī and Krsna

প্রসাদ ভবে অভেদক্রানে কাবক্রপে নেশানেশি। ওবে একে পাঁচ পাচেই এব নন কব না হেধাহেধি॥

This attempt at immoving disadver (ill-blood) and at establishing the ultimate identity of the different images of the godhead is at the root of the later song of Kamalākānta

জান না বে মন প্ৰম কাৰণ শ্ৰামা কণ্ডু নেয়ে নয়।

সে যে থেবেৰ বৰণ কৰিয়া ধাৰণ কথন কথন পুৰুষ হয়।

কণ্ড বাঁধে ধড়া কণ্ড বাঁধে চূড়া নগুৰপুচ্চ শোভিত তায়।

কথন পাৰ্ধতী কথন শ্ৰীমতী কথন বানেৰ জানবী হয়।

হয়ে এলোকেনা কৰে লয়ে অনি দানবচনে কৰে মভায়।

কেন্ডু) এজপুবে আসি বাজাইয়া বানী এজবাসী-নন হৰিয়া লয়।

যেন্ধপে যে জন কৰয়ে ভজন সেইন্ধপে তাৰ মানসে বয়।

কমলাকান্তেৰ হৃদি-সবোৰ্বে কনলনাবে কনল উদয়।

These devotional songsters in general and their precursor Rām-prasād in particular, therefore, established, through

Originality of Rām prasād and his followers

the current from of Śakli-worship, tempered by natural human ideas derived from the no less human Baisnab poets, a peculiar form of

religious-poetic communion and, realising this in their own life removed from the turbid atmosphere of controversy,

they expressed the varieties of their religious experience in touching songs accessible to all. There is no other conspicuous instance of this type of Sakti worship through the Maly-bhaba in ancient literature. The classical example king Suratha's proprintation of the Adyā Sakti described in the Markapideya Chandi is altogether of a different kind and could the carlier Bengah Chandi authors who indulged themselves in hymns or claborate narratives of praise anticipate the sentiment of tender desintion and half childis solicitation of Rām prasāl is undoubted and it exalts him to a place all his own

The Bai hab poets again describe in their exquisite lyrics a type of lovo which is lifted beyond the restrictions

These sours accessible to all without

nf social convention and their invelvince passionate and often sensions may in the ininitiated, excite worldly desires instead of inspiring a sense of

freedom from worldly attachments. The songs of Rām prasād and his followers on the other hand, are free from this dangerous tendency. Although these simple and tender longings for the Mother may not in thought and diction compare favourably with the finer outhinsts of the Baismab poets yet they are accessible indiscriminately in the unimitated as well as the initiated in tho sinner as well as to the saint to the ignorant as well as to the soint to the ignorant as well as to the case of the tender love of the mother, every human child has an equal claim to share it

The exceedingly hum—feed picture of Gauri or Därgs in Ramefrar a filidges or oven i Bhārst Ohandra a Assadāmaāpet ray umista an altogether differest phase of perhaps the same hum—ising tendency in contemporary literature But this exceedingly difficult task of writing religious

Dulness and artificiality of the less inspired successors of Ram prasad

songs which should be at the same time aitistic and passionate has its own dangers and pitfalls. When the inspiration does not reach its highwater mark, the resulting song is apt

to be either dull and flat or laboured and artificial. There is nothing like the dulness of a religious writer at his dullest. This trait, now and then noticeable in Rām-piasād himself, is often very marked in the less inspired songwriters who accompanied or followed him. There is not much in these inferior poets (always with exceptions, of course) which is worth detailed study or attention and we

Raja Sibchandra and Kumar Sambhachandra shall pass over them as briefly as possible Of the two sons of Rājā Krsnachandra, Rājā Šibchandra and Kumāi Šambhūchandra, the latter is a better

poet, no doubt, but his productions are stilted and conventional and are of too trifling a quantity to deserve any further comment. The production of Kumār Narachandia, a member of the same family, are however more abundant and are of a better quality, though not absolutely free from the same trait. He could reproduce the spirit and even the language of Rām-prasād pretty well. We select three of his songs (beside one which we have already quoted) which are not so well-known as they ought to be.

যে ভাল কবেছ কালি আব ভালতে কাজ নাই,
ভালয় ভালয় বিদায় দে মা আলোয় আলোয় চলে যাই॥
মা তোমাব ককণা ২০ ব্ঝিলাম অবিবত
ডাকিলাম কত শত কপাল ছাডা পথ নাই॥
জঠবে দিয়েছ স্থান কবোনা মা অপমান
কিনে হবে পবিত্রাণ নবচন্দ্র ভাবে তাই॥

কেন মিছে না মা কয় থাবের বেখা পাবে নাই বাকনে আদি বিতো বেখা নর্ধনান্দ্র বেচে নাই ।
প্রশানে মপানে কড পীর্ম্বান ছিল বত
পুষে হলাম ওটাগত কেন আর বহুণা পাই ।
বিমাতার তীরে সিয়ে কুলপুডুল গাবাটিছে
অনৌচাঙে পিত দিয়ে কাগানোচে কান্দ্র বাই ।
বিজ্ঞান বিচার তার শাবের মন্ত্র ভাবনা কেনে
মা নাম গেছে পির ত আছে ভবিবার ভাবনা নাই ।

ৰে হৰ পাণাপের মেৰে সার হালে কি দ্বা পাকে।
দগদীনা না হলে কি নাথি মারে নাগের বুকে ।
ধরামহী নাম দগতে দহার দেশ মাই ভোমাতে
গলে পর মুভ্রনাণা গরের ছেনের মাধা ঠুকে ।
মা না গলে ৰত ভাক তনে ত মা তনে নাক
নৱা এম্নি নাধি-খেলে তুৰু হুৰ্মা বলে ভাতে ।

Such simple set direct utterance become rarer as we pass on to later writers of this group. The following songs which bear the blantia of Nandakumār is supposed he some to be the composition of Nanda Kiŝor Räy, Devian of Burdwan Rāj but may poesibly be a soli tary song of Mahārāj Nandakumār seculeulalli preserved

তুবন ভূগানি গো ভূবনথোহিনী।
মূলাবারে মহোংশলৈ বীগাবাঞ্চনিনোহিনী।
পরীরে পারীরী বলে গুরুহারি তার তত্ত্বে
ভবতেনে মহামতে তিনতান সভারিধী।
আধারে তৈরবাকার বভূমতে শ্রীরাগ আর
মণিগ্রেতে মনার বন্ধ্যে মুখ্যাকাশিনী।

But this exceedingly difficult task of writing religious

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কেন মিছে মা মা কর মাবের দেখা পাবে নাই ।
পাবেল আদি দিওো দেখা নইনাই বেচে নাই ।
কানানে মনানে কত পীঠছান ছিল বত
পুজে হনাম ওটাগত কেন আর বহলা পাই ।
বিনাতার তীবে গিরে কুলপুতুল গাংহাইছে
অনোচাধে পিও বিবে কানানোচে কালা বাই ।
বিজ নরচক্র ছবে মাবের মন্ত ভাবনা কেনে
মা নাম বেছে দিব ত থাছে ভাবনার ভাবনা নাই ।

ৰে চৰ পাথাপের মেৰে সার জলে কি দ্বা পাকে।
দ্বাহীনা না চলে কি নাধি মারে নাপের বৃকে।
দ্বাধনী নাম জগতে দ্বার বেশ নাই তোমাতে
গলে পম মুভ্যাণা সংবর হেলের মাধা ঠুকে।
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pass on to later writers of this group. The following songs which bear the biantia of Nandakumar is supposed by some to be the composition of Nanda Kisor Ray Dewan of Burdwan Ray but may possibly be a solitary song of Maharii Nandakumar acculentally preserved

Such simple yet direct utterance become rarer as we

ভূবন খুলালি গো খুবনমেছিনী।
মূলাবারে মহোংপলে বী ।বাখ-বিনোলিনী।
পরীরে পারীয়ী বছে এরলালি জয় তত্তে
খুপ্তেধে মহাধরে তিনগ্রাম সহারিধী।
আধারে তৈরবাকার বড় মলে শ্রীরাগ আর
ম্পিগরেতে বলার বস্থে চংগ্রাকাশিনী।

निक्ष हिस्साययस्य वर्गावित काकाशस्य काम मान यह स्वस्य विमाधस्य स्वस्थानि । महामाहा काक्ष्यास्य यक कर्य बनाहास्य उद्य यस क्यासास्य स्वित काक्क सोगामिनी । स्विनलद्वाय कर्य क्या निक्तह हर क्या उद्य स्वस्य क्षीति सुरूष कास्य मिनी ।

This song is quoted here not so much for its historic interest nor for any special ment but as a specimen of the artificial and tedious style of later poets. The same tendency of indulging in symbolism, didactics and banchines under a spiritual glamour is also remarkably noticeable in the songs

Dewän Rughunath Ray 1750 1536 of Dewan Raghunath Ray of Burdwan, a brother of Nandakisor, but Raghunath was not a Sikta of the narrow

type and addressed several songs to Krsna as well, in some of which he maintains the eventual identity of this Brisnab deity with the special divinity of his adoration. It is hardly necessary to quote specimens but the following songs as the nearest approach to the style of Rīm-prasīd which had been all along the deservedly recognised standard.

পভিয়ে ভবদাগবে ভূবে মা তম্ব তবা।

মাগ্লা-মড নোহ-ভূবান ক্রমে বাডে গো শদবা॥

একে মন-মাঝি আনাডি তাতে ছ-চন গোনাব শভী

ক্বাতাসে দিখে পাডি হাবুড়ুবু থেমে মবি।
ভেম্নে গেল ভক্তিব হাল ছিডে গেল শ্রদ্ধাব পাল

তবী হল বান্চাল্ বল এখন কি কবি।
উপায় না দেখি আব অকিঞ্চন ভেনে সাব

তবঙ্গে দিয়ে সাঁতাব ছগীনানেব ভেনা ধবি॥ গু

<sup>1</sup> The bhanta has Nandakumai and not Nandakisor

<sup>2</sup> The bhamta of Raghubath in these songs is অধিকন

Thus Burdwan like Nadivii, had been for a long time the centre of these activities and we find even Mahārājā Mahatābehānd who was a song-writer of no mean merit, carrying on this literary tradition till his death in 1897. Of this Burdwan group the most famous and indeed the most remarkable poet is Kamalākanta Bhatjachāryya, a native of

Kamalākānta Bbattāchāryyn Amhikānagar in Kalnā who subsequently removed to Koţālbāţ in Burd wan and lived under the royal patronage

of Maharājā Tejaschandra Of the later group of devotional poets Kamalākānta approaches Rām prasād very closely in tone and feeling and style Mahatābehānd printed in 1857 from the poets own manuscript nearly 250 songs which have been thus beautifully preserved. This collection was reprinted in 1886 by Śrikānta Mallik in Calcutta nuder the title Kamalātānta Padābalt¹ and it certainly deserves reprint again.

It is impossible within the limited scope of our plan to analyse these three hundred songs in detail or to quote extensive specimens which alone would illustrate the depth, variety and beauty of Kamalakhita's songs. Like the songs of his great predecessor Ram prasad his songs reveal to us the inward history of his spiritual life the various stages of his religious experience from worship and adoration to the attainment of the state of highest felicity. It is not his meditative speculation nor his theological tenets nor the vague coating of symbolism in his songs which constitute their charm over and above all these tower his spiritual sense his imagination and his emotions his extraordinary personality and the palpitating humanity which vivifies every line imparts a soul felt meaning to his devotional songs. He expresses common needs, common

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this was lent to me by the Sthlips Pariet Library

thoughts, and every-day emotions of the religious man, and if he is a mystic, his mysticism is not of the esoteric order. It is difficult to quote specimens when one must confine oneself to a limited number but the following songs, well-known as they are, are quoted to make them better known

আব কিছু নাই শ্রামা মাতোব কেবল হটি চবন বারা।
তানি তাও নিথেছেন ত্রিপুরাবি দেগে হলাম সাহম ভারা॥
ত্রাতি বন্ধ স্তত দাবা স্থাথেব সন্ম স্বাই তাবা
বিপদকালে কেউ কোথা নাই ঘবনাড়ী ওড্গাগ্মেব ডারা॥
নিজগুলে যদি বাথ করুণা নম্মনে দেথ
নইলে জপে তপে তোমায় পাওয়া সে সব কথা ভূতেব সারা॥
ক্যলাকাণ্ডের কথা মাকে বলি মনেব ব্যথা
আমার জপেব মানা ঝুলি কাথা জপেব ঘবে বইল টারা॥
1

কালি সব খুচালি লেঠা।

শ্রীনাথেব লিখন আছে খেমন বাখবি কি না বাখবি সেটা।
তোমাব যাবে রূপা হয় তাব স্প্টিছাভা রূপেব ছটা।
তাব কটিতে কৌপিন যোড়ে গায়ে ছাই আব মাথায় জটা॥
শ্রশান পেলে প্রথে ভাস পুচ্ছ বাস মলি কোঠা
আপনি খেমন ঠাকুব তেমন্ খুচলোনাক সিদ্ধি ঘোঁটা॥
তথে বাখ প্রথে বাখ কববো কি আব দিয়ে ঘোঁটা।
আমি দাগ দিয়ে পবেছি যখন পুঁছতে নাবি সাধের ফোঁটা॥
জগৎ জুডে নাম দিয়েছ কমলাকান্ত কালীব বেটা
এখন মায়ে পোয়ে কেমন ব্যাভাব ইহাব মর্ম জানবে কেটা॥

One characteristic note of these songs is its sincerity, a sincerity which redeems even the slightest song from insignificance and confers on the finer pieces an importance

¹ Kamalākānta Padābalī, p 29

of a different order from that which attaches to even the most brilliant productions of his contemporarios. The popular opinion which places Kamalakanta next to Ram prasad is fully instified and we conclude by quoting the lines of Vilambar Mukhopādhyāy a later poet, who collogises Kamalakanta and Rani prasad in the same breath

মারের প্রদা হওরে আসি।
মারের সমভাব নাই কমি বেশি ঃ
রামজ্যনাথ এক পাটা পেরে মহরাণ করেছে কান্দী
কমণাকাপ্র ডেক নিবেছে শ্যামা ভাবছেন বোনে
ভাবার কোবার পার কারী ঃ

## CHAPTER XII

## MISCELLANEOUS WRITERS IN THE OLD STYLE

The period of interregnum in poetry which followed upon Bhārat Chandra's death had been, we have seen, essentrally a lyric interval in which we find the Kabiwalas, tappā-writers and authors of devo-Writers of the poeti cal interregnum tional songs creating a body of literature which, if not great in positive achievement, is at least remarkable in the negative quality of marking a natural reaction against the ornate and classical type of literary practice of the 18th century At the same time the groups of writers mentioned never separate themselves wholly from the traditions of the past nor do they work their way from the older to the newer style of the 19th century. In this sense, they are neither ancient nor modern, neither do they represent the past adequately nor indicate and foretell the future They were at the same time incapable of great literature, nor were the times suitable for it. They are not, it is true, idle singers of an empty day, but they deal essentially with trifles, though with trifles

The intermediate position of the lyric songsters, Kabiwalas and others

poetically adoined Occupying, as they do, an intermediate position between the ancient and the modern writers, they yet afford no natural

medium of transition from the school of the past to the school of the present. They create a literature of their own, limited and circumscribed by their own peculiarities and the peculiarities of their circumstances, too old to be entirely new, too new to be entirely old, for although possessing lying quality, they have little affinity to modern

lyrists nor can they be definitely affiliated to any recognised school of ancient writers

But the poets and sougsters whom we propose to take up in this chapter inhike the writers already dealt with definitely and unmistakably tread in the footeteps of the old world poets. Their poetic grift move within the narrow compass of conventional art, and though exhibiting widest

Writers dealt with in this chapter are however relics or survivals of earlier days, and belong in spirit and form to the past

individual differences these imitative poets are bound by the common characteristic of belonging to the nast, both in form and spurit. Being thus artificially limited they are hardly original, except in so far as

they may vary a single tune by playing it upon the several This department of verse therefore recognised stons is singularly depressing Except in inspired snatches there is hardly anything of first rate quality and the great bulk of this parrowly imitative literature is flat and tedious The recognised literary species had been already suffering from exhaustion of material and the declining powers of these belated imitators could hardly impart to them a spark of vivifying force

Want of subject-matter and of capacity for original achievement is precisely the defect of this poetry. In the first place, we have a group of writers who follow the time-

writers.

hononred tradition of translating the Proposed groups of Sanscrit Ramayan Makabkarat and Sriwad-bkaqabat into the vernacular

Next we have a band of minor poets-some of them not merely minor but insignificant—who wrote verse-tales of the erotic type in imitation of Bharat Chandra hat who could not reproduce his poetry as they could magnify the dull obscenities which unfortunately taint his writings After them, come a host of miscellaneous songsters-most

of them literary nondescripts—among whom we need notice in some detail the anthors of painchale and yatra.

The translators of this period inherited the tradition but lost the art which had made their Translators predecessors Krttibas or Kāsīdās A little before 1760, we have a number of immortal notable translations among which may be mentioned the delightful version of Gitagohinda by Guidhai, but after 1760, this department of hterature is hardly graced by any remarkable achievement The translators of this period hardly exhibit any striking literary feature and it would serve no purpose to recapitulate their half-forgotten names Of these, however, Raghunaudau Gosvami, though not exactly a translator, is remarkable for his re-writing of the themes of Rāmāyan and Bhāqabat Raghunandan1 was, as he himself tells us, boin in the village of Mādo near Mankar, Burdwan His dates are Raghunandan Gosvāmī not exactly known; but he undoubtedly belongs to our period, for Raj-narayan Basu in his Ekāl O Sekāl relates how Raghunandan used to come very frequently to Calcutta to meet the lexicographer, Rāmkamal Sen His two considerable works are Śrī-Rām-rasāyan and Śrī Kādhā-Mādhabodaya, besides Gītamālā, a work on Krsna-lila Although both these works belong chronologically to a later period the latter, as its colophon says,3 having been composed in 1849 and the former

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  He gives some account of himself and his family at the conclusion of his  $R\tilde{a}m$  ras $\tilde{a}yan$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Bangabāsī edition of his  $R\bar{a}m$ -ras $\bar{a}yan$  gives 1786 (1193 B S) as the date of his birth

<sup>ু</sup> শ্রীরাধামাধবরোঃ প্রীতয়ে ভবতু শাকেহকে ক্মাসপ্ত সপ্ত ক্মানিতে ব্যুষ্টার্কার প্রাতীরে পানিহাটিগ্রানেহয়ে পূর্বভামগাৎ। Published by the author's son Madan Gopāl Gosvāmī in 1890 (1297 B S )

probably in 1831—it could be convenient to ootice them briefly here. His Pāw rasāyrņ a voluminous and laborious production is a tolerably well written version of the

Ramaran chiefly based upon Valmiki rī Rām Rasilven but supplemented from other sources The language is clear vigorous and picturesque, although indicating a decided leaning towards Sanserit words the work is composed throughout in the payar metre, occasionally diversified by varieties of tripadi and other common metres. Strictly speaking the author is oot close or literal or even faithful in his version which is more than a mere translation. There are considerable additions and onussions? and the whole theme is treated with a freedom which characteries most of the early translators. The author possesses a marvellous narrative gift which makes his work interesting. It is not accurate to state that the author is merely a learned poodit entirely devoid of poetic cufts or power of delineating character but his poetic gift is not equal to his capacity of rhythogical expression and bis command over a more or less finished style. In spite of all its faults, it is however a very remarkable production and to regard it as perhaps the best Benguli version of the Ramagan after Kritibits is not altogether unwarranted. In his next work. Sri Radka Madha odova however, the Baisnab Raghunandan found

This date is given to the preface to the Estgrabal edition also in Estgrabas r Lekhok p 210 it could not have been as Dinesh Cliendra Sen states (H story p 193) composed in the middle of the 18th century

Especially in Utterkände

Bee especially the poetic description in অৱশালণ বা পরিছেছ; ভিছিন্তালণ বা পরিজেহ and the last chapter on ইয়ানচন্দ্রৰ অন্যাল্ডন বিহার (ইবর কাষ্চ); ekābalī, lalitā, totaka pajjākaţika jamaka, tunaka, mātrū britiekatnapadī sodasākarī kānekī jamaka to mention only a few—in his Rādkā Mādkabodaja. The following description of the herome's beauty although showing considerable skill is yet convectional and illustrates the author's leading towards sanscritisation

সৰি দেশৰ সৰি দেশৰ, নংনীপক স্লে।
তালি অপস ধৰণীপৰ নংনীগৰ বৃলে।
ধনিতালন-চৰ গল্পন মধুৰ ছাতি আলে।
কক প্ৰাথণ পৃথিবী তল নভনওল ভালে।
চপলা ততি বলকে অতি থিব অভুত কাঁতী।
অতি পাত্ৰ কচি এখন বিশ্বন বক্ষপাতী।
ম্বন্ত্পতি-বংবাকৃতি বহু বলাই সামে।
ম্বন্ধন্ত অতি অভুত প্ৰিম্বন বালে।

The same remark applies to the following description of Ram in his Ram ratagen

বৰ্তি ষয়তি ধ্বাণীপতি ধ্বতি ধ্বতি বান।

অনক-নুগতি-হৃহিতা পতি নিংহণ খণ্ডান।
কোটি-মধন-মধ খণ্ডান প্ৰকাশ কচিবলো।
চর্ব-প্ৰকাশ কচিমণ্ডল বিত-ন্তহিবলোণ।
ক্ষানী-জন-মুগনিত উক্ত মহান মতি কীব।
ক্ষানী-মন-মুগ-নৰ্তন নুগীতট উক্ত পীন।
বিভিন্ন ভিত-বৈশ্বল ভ্ৰমন ভূমন্ত ।
বিশ্বিনা পতি-ভ্ৰমন্ত্ৰিক প্ৰকাশ কৃষ্ণ বান।
ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন ভিত্তিনান্ত্ৰীত-প্ৰকাশ ক্ষান্ত বান।
ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন পতি-ভ্ৰমনা-বৃতি-প্ৰকাশন কৰি ভাল।
ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন ক্ষান্তি-প্ৰকাশন কৰি ভাল।
ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন কৰি ভাল।
ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন কৰি বিশ্বন ক্ষান্ত্ৰীন কৰি ভাল।

These short lyrics are, however, madequate for giving an idea of Raghunandan's style, but they will sufficiently indicate both his merits and defects. Raghunandan is by no means a slovenly writer but in his striving after technical perfection, he is often elaborate and artificial. His writings display faultless execution and a great command over the language, but ingenuity and verbal or rhythmic dexterity can never supply perennial nutri ment for ait. It is only when Raghunandan rises above, these prepossessions and he does this not very seldom, that he exhibits poetical quality of no mean order.

Next to Raghunandan, the 10 yal poet Jaynārāyan Ghosāl of Bhūkarlās (1751-1821) deserves mention After spending the grelater portion of his

Jay narayan Ghosal, life in the services of the Nawab and in the confidence of the company Jay-

nārāyan obtained the title of Mahaiaja Bahadui fiom the Emperor of Delhi Duing his last day's, he passed a retired life of religious devotion at Benar'es where he has left too many traces of his large-hearted ber evolence. It was here that he conceived the idea of translating the Kāśī-Khanda into Bengali. The whole history of the undertaking is said forth by Jaynārāyan himself in the last chapter of his work? The translation, begun in 1792, was completed in a hundred chapters (about 11,200 lines) under the joint authorship of Jay-nārāyan, Nrsimha Deb Rāy of Pātuli, Jagannāth Mukhopādhyāy, Bakreśvai Pañchānan and several other scholars and poets. After the completion of the hundred chapters, several supplementary chapters, which stand by themselves, were added by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For more details about his life, see Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā, volvin, p 1-25, Sāhitya, 302 pp 14916, Preface to the Sāhitya Parisat edition of Jaynārāyan's Kāsī parikramā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Kāsī parikramā (Sāhitya Parigat edition), Ch. xiii, pp. 222-24

Jaynūrāyan himself giving a more or less faithful picture of contemporary Benares drawn from the poet's own observation. The work itself is a tedious and laborious compilation but this applementary account, which is the best part and which has been published separately

His Kail-nonlinead under the title of Ausi parikrama, is indeed very interesting as a good specimen of descriptive poetry of this period. The topography and other details of the holy city are given with elaborate care, and in places the descriptions are original, amusing and considerably realistic. The paratramas are not rare things in old Bengali literature and we have Nabadolpa Parikramā and Brajaparikramā of Narahari Chakrabarti and a prose Brudabana Parekrama belonging to the 18th century With these works of the same nature Kāšī parikramā does not compare unfavour ably, and as a more or less trustworthy contemporary account of the holy city, the work is certainly valuable. But from the strictly literary point of view, it seems to possess little interest or importance. Jaynārāyan is a facile and methodical versifier but he is hardly a poet. The pictorial nature of his theme no doubt afforded many opportunities for higher poetical flights but the author is so entirely devoid of the soaring gift that he is uniformly and hope lessly pedestrian, although occasionally he gives us undoubtedly vigorous descriptive verses He has no fancy. no enthumam and his over praised composition1 is often merely prosaic and always rigidly conventional. The only praise which he deserves relates to the fact that although he adheres both in spirit and form to the traditions and expectations of the time, he yet devotes a stern attention to the realities of scenery and character described pictures however sadly lack a touch of that light which

Dinesh Ch ndra Sen, in History loc. cst in Sahitya loc. cst.; Nagendranath Basu, preface to the Sahitya Parisat edition of Kasi-Purilyassa, These short lyrics are, however, madequate for giving an idea of Raghunandan's style, but they will sufficiently indicate both his ments and defects. Raghunandan is by no means a slovenly writer but in his striving after technical perfection, he is often elaborate and artificial. His writings display faultless execution and a great command over the language, but ingenuity and verbal or rhythmic dexterity can never supply perennial nutri ment for art. It is only when Raghunandan rises above, these prepossessions and he does this not very seldom, that he exhibits poetical quality of no mean order.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For more details about his life, see Sāhitya Pansat Patikā, volvii, p 1 25. Sāhitya, 302 pp 14916, Preface to the Sāhitya Pansat edition of Jaynārāyan's Kāsī pankramā,

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was never on sea and land and which alone could have made them poetic. He is a good photographer but not a painter, and whose considers him as such may appreciate him better. Jaynārāyan's other pub-

His Karunā nidāna bilās lished work, Karunā-nīdān-bilās, although less known, is much better

production Purporting to be a work devoted to the glorification of the special derty whose image the author had set up at Kāśī and from whom the book derives its name, it really treats of Krsnalīlā in a refreshingly original and poetical way

'Other minor writers, who favoured the old style and belonged to this group, need not and can not in a book like this dealt with at much length. We must, however, mention, if not enlarge upon, a school of poets (or rather

School of Bhārat

versifiers) who were the direct imitators of Bharat-chandra and continued the style of Bidyasundar even beyond

the fifties Bhārat-chandia, like Rām-piasād in another sphere, had been through his Bidyāsundar the ruling power for nearly a century. Writing under the shadow of his genius, this belated group of writers are all servile copyrsts, reproducing the style and scheme of his Bidyāsundar down to minute details but unable to repeat its poetry, they

Poor and valgar ımıtatıon of Bidyā sundar

a

more

anew

exaggerate its freedom into licence The details of Sundar's amours, his intrigues, his capture and ultimate union with Bidyā are all repeated or less diversified form, but the

A printed copy of this will be found in the Calcutta Imperial Library. The book is included in the list of books published by the School Book Society before 1821. Long, in his article in Calcutta Review, xiii 1850, describes this work as "an account of a new god recently created by a 11ch native". For an account of the work, see Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā, loc cit

stones are brutally and uncontrolledly indecent although generally presented like their prototype under the all atoming garh of religion and their heroes are typical Dou Juans in the worst sense. The plots are more elaborate and the series of adventures desperately fantastic though presented with the monotonous sameness of scheme There are places where Bharat-chandra is free and coarse enough, but in these his grifted followers attempt to ontdo their master in his own ground and hobble along in wretched drawing out of the vulgar parts of the theme, floundering in the mid which they delight in but which is as fonl and dull as ever human imagination could conceive The versification is poor the descriptions dull and conventional, and there is hardly any elevating poetic touch or other redeeming feature in these verse tales which are never graceful but always graceless in one particular. It would be a mistake to attribute all this to the influence of Persian tales for it is not clear whether these foreign tales were

Their deprayed tasts not due to Porelan influence. abundantly accessible and well known to the writers of this generation and even when accessible it is not clear whether such tales are really as bad as

they are often represented to be The Persian tales, to judge from the specimens which have survived, very solder sink to that depth of indecent realism where these productions of a degenerate and depraved taste do often wallow ou the other hand these claborate Bengali tales unmistakably bear the stamp of Bidyāssadar style run not. It would be better to regard them as representing a phase of the development of literary taste in this period of unstability and degeneracy which is also partially reflected in the khend of the Kahiwalas in the grossness of certain aspects of hāpākhās tarjā pāšhekāls and other productions of the same type. Most of these verse-tales are now scarce,

suppressed by the law and never allowed to be reprinted, and it is not necessary to drag them out of their deserved obscurity, but there is evidence to show that from the end of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century this prolific literature, outrageous as it is to all taste, obtained considerable favour and currency. The earliest surviving specimen of these tales, however belong to a period posterior to 1825 and do not therefore properly come within the scope of this

The most flourishing time of this literature falls outside our period

volume, although it is quite probable that it was preceded by a host of similar productions, belonging to an earlier date, which are now lost to us Kālī Krsna Dās's Kāminī Kumār,

however, is placed by some at the end of the 18th century, but the earliest printed copy that we have seen bears the date of 1836, while Chandrakānta, the next well-known piece cannot possibly belong to a much earlier date Madan Mohan's Bāsabdattā, written in the same style but with finer power and greater delicacy, was first published in 1837. These were followed by a host of other works of the same type such as Tārāchānd Datta's Manmatha Kābya (1844), Munsi Erādot's Kuranga-bhānu (1845), Umācharan Tribedī's Madan Mādhurī (1856), Banamālī Ghosāl's Padmagandhā-upākhyān (1864), Biśvambhar Dās's Rajānīkānta (1870), Gobinda Śīl's Hemlatā-Ratikānta (1870?) all belonging to a period between 1840 and 1870. This would, therefore, amply indicate that between these dates there was an exuberant growth, if not recrudescence

The copy in the Sähitya Parişat Libiary is wanting in the title-page. The date given in the text is the date given in a copy lent to me by a friend but which is now lost and is probably the date of the first edition, for there is a copy of Kālī Kṛṣṇa's other work, Mānbhañjan, in the Sāhitya Pariṣat Library bearing 1856 (Śaka 1778) as the date apparently of the first edition. It is not unlikely therefore to hold that Kālī Kṛṣṇa's works belong to the period between 1836 and 1856.

of this reactionary literature helped probably by the reprinting of Bidyassindar in 1836 and 1847

The miscellaneous poetry of this period is so unmanageably scattered and so diversified that it presents a difficult problem of selection and of satisfactory

Miscellaneous poets and songsters. treatment Besides the varieties of poems and songs already mentioned

we have multifarious types of rural productions, mostly musical, like Jārī gāx Gāpīr gāx Hābu gīt Nale gīt, Kīrtan gāx Dhap sangīt, Ghetu gan, Sārī gāu, Bāul sangīt tarjā gāu, specimens of which have survived in the months of the people although not always accessible in print. Much of this rural literature composed by inglorious and unknown poets, display, as all rural literature does, a touching quality and a natural poetic sensibility which is interesting to note<sup>1</sup> but generally

Authors of Panchill speaking much of it is not literature at all and must be rigidly excluded

Among these priveyors of ephemeral stuff the authors of Pāmēkāli and Fātrā must be mentioned, not because they are always worth mention but because their literary preten sions have rightly or wrongly always received recognition, as a peculiar form of indigenous literature which at one time had obtained great popularity

The origin of Pāmckālt-songs of the modern type cannot be definitely traced Dinesh Origin of Pāmckālt Chandra Sen, in his two works on Bengali Literature puts forward the

brilliant but hardly convincing conjecture that the

Accounts of rural poets and their songs have from time to time appeared in various Bengali Journals. For an interesting approxisation of rural literature in general see Babindra Nath Thikur Grämps Säkitya published in his volume on Lok-Säkitya.

Bangabhaga O Sähitya Ind Ed., p. 221; History of Be gali Language and Literature p. 385  $P\bar{a}mch\bar{a}li$  (spelling the word as  $P\bar{a}nch\bar{a}li$ ) is ultimately connected with Panchal or Kanauj, which he takes to be the buth-place of this kind of song It may, however, be pointed out that there is no trace of pamchali-songs of the modern type (such as those popularised by Dāśarathi Rāy) in ancient literature, but that the word  $Par{a}reve{m}char{a}li$ it is well known, was used indiscriminately for all soits of poetical composition which could be recited and which

Ancient and modern of pāmchālı

possessed a religious theme Thus the Parāgalī Mahābhārat or the types of  $p\bar{a}\bar{m}ch\bar{a}li$  must be distinguished  $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}i$  at of Nityānanda Ghos is called bharat-pamchali or simply

pāmchāli in their respective bhanitās Similarly Kabikankan Chandi is designated throughout by its author as pāmchāli or pāmchāli-prabandha, and even in a work like Jagannāth Mangal, Gadādhai Mandal states that he is composing his work in the style of pāmchāli 1 Thus we have, besides those mentioned above, Sann pāmchāli, Sasthī, pāmchāli, Mansar pāmchāli and in fact pāmchālis written in praise of all the popular derties These older compositions used to be recited and were therefore suitably arranged for pālās or sittings for recitation But they were not pāmchālis in the modern sense of the term and a distinction must be made between ancient and modern types Another equally fanciful etymology of the term pāmchāli is given by deliving the word from pā-chāli or padu-chālan which is taken to indicate that the leader of such a party recited explains and sings his theme by moving about before the assembled audience, but this interpretation tails to explain the presence of nasal  $\breve{m}$  in the word itself. It would seem, however, that the best

<sup>1</sup> We also get the word panichali chhanda and unless the word chhanda means style of composition, it must be referred to a peculiar kind of metre

explanation is that which connects  $p\bar{a}\cdot\bar{n}ck\bar{a}/t$  with  $n\bar{a}ck\bar{a}dt$  (which was necompanied by dancing and singing) and which regards the term  $pa\bar{n}ckalt$  applied to the modern type of popular entertainment as connoting five ( $p\bar{a}\cdot\bar{n}ck$ ) essential things which must be present in all perfect kinds. What these five elements were cannot be exactly determined but singing  $(g\bar{a}s)$ , music  $(s\bar{a}j-b\bar{a}j\bar{a}so)$  recitation  $(ckhad\bar{a}\ k\bar{a}t\bar{a}sa)$ , poetical rivalry  $(g\bar{a}ser\ ladat)$  and possibly dancing  $(s\bar{a}ck)$  more or less accompanied all  $p\bar{a}\cdot\bar{n}ck\bar{a}ls$  in later times

As this form of entertainment has practically disappeared from modern Bengal it would be worth while to quote the following interesting description of a pārākāli performance which lengthy as it is is still valuable as coming from one who himself was more or less connected with it and who must have also seen the performance of Dāšu Rāy himself

নব্যসন্তাগাবের গোচরার্থ পৌচালি বরটা কি এফটু বুঝাইরা বলা আবন্তক। ববিও হাফ-আব ডাই ও গাড়া-কবির ন্যার পাঁচালিতেও চুই দলে গলী চ-সংগ্রাম হইড কিব উহাদের ন্যার ইংগতে প্রাকৃত প্রস্তাবে উত্তর অভ্যাত্তর প্রভাগত হালি। অর্থাবে কবিতে ঘেষন এক বল পূর্কাপকরপে আগরী সান গাহিলে অগর বল উত্তর পকরণে তংকপাৎ তাহার কবাব বাবির গান কবেন, পাঁচালিতে তংপরিবর্ধে পূর্কাভ্যত হড়া ও মানের নড়াই হইত। বে বল অংশকার্কত উত্তর্গত্ব হড়া ওটাইতেও গান গাইতে গারিকেন, নেই দলের ভাগোই ভরতী মীরিমতী হইরা নিশান লাভ দটিত।

পাঁচানির প্রণাণী এইরপ হাক আগ ড়াইএর ন্যার ডান্পুর, বেহানা, চোল, মন্দিরা যোচং অড়তি ইহার বাহ্মর ইণানীং ঐক্যতান বাছের মুন্টাদি উপকরণও তৎসতে থাকিত। হাক আগ ড়াইরের ন্যায় বাছেরও লভাই ২ই৩। সে বাভেব নাম "সাজ-বাজানো"। সাজবাজনাব পব "ঠাক্কল-বিষয়" বা "গ্রামা-বিষয়"। প্রথমেই শ্রামা-বিষয়ক একটি গান সকলে মিলিয়া গাইবাব পব কাটান্দাব উক্ত বিষয়েব ছড়া কাটাইতেন। অর্থাৎ ঐ কার্যাে্ব উপযুক্ত কোনো এক ব্যক্তি উপযুক্ত অঙ্গ ভঙ্গীব সহিত, কথনো বা গহজ গলায়, কখনো বা এক প্রকাব স্থবেব সাহাযেয়, কখনো বা পত্য, কখনো বা গভেব ছুট কথায় উচ্চস্থবে ছঙা বিন্যাস কবিতেন। কাটাইতে জানিলে তাহা শুনিষা শ্রোত্বর্গেব লোমাঞ্চ হইত। যগতঃ স্থকবিব বচনা ও স্থ-কাটান্দাব কর্তৃক যোজনা হইলে নানা বস উদ্দীপনাব সম্পূর্ণ সম্ভাবনা। ছঙা কাটানো হইলে সকলে মিলিয়া আবাব গান।

খ্যামাবিষয় প্রায় এক ছড়াতেই 'সমাপ্ত হইত। কে বাহা হউক, ঐ দল খ্যামাবিষয় গাইয়া আপনাদেব যুদ্রাদি সহিত উঠিয়া যাইতেন, প্রতিঘন্দী দল আমাবিষয় গাইয়া আপনাদেব যুদ্রাদি সহিত উঠিয়া যাইতেন, প্রতিঘন্দী দল আমবে নামিতেন। তাঁহাবাও ঐকপ খ্যামা বিষয় শেষ কবিয়া উঠিয়া গেলে পুনর্কাব পূর্ব্বদল আনিয়া সাজ বাজাইয়া সহীসম্বাদেব মহড়া গারুটি গাইয়া ছঙা কাটাইতেন। প্রথম ছঙাব পর গান আবার দ্বিতীয় ছড়া ও ডুতীয় গান আবাব তৃতীয় ছঙা ও চতুর্থ গান এইয়পে কয়েনটি ছড়া ও কয়েনটি গানেব পর তাঁহাদেব প্রস্থান ও অপর দলের প্রবেশ এবং ঐকপে ছড়া গান হইয়া সহীসম্বাদ মিটয়া যাইত। পরে বিবহেব বেলাও ঐ প্রণালী অবলম্বিত হইত।

একটি কথা বলিতে অবশিষ্ট। যথন যে দল যে প্রসঙ্গেব বিন্যাস হেতু স্মানবে নামিতেন, তথন তাঁহাবা যে কয়টা ছড়া ও গান কবিতেন, তাহাব সমুদ্ধেতেই সেই একই বিষয়েব আরুপূর্ব্ধিক বর্ণনা থাকিত বিভিন্ন ছঙায় যে বিভিন্ন বিষয়, তাহা নয়। অর্থাৎ একদল স্থীসম্বাদেব সময় প্রথম ছঙাব মাধুব, বিতীব ছঙাব মান, তৃতীব ছঙায় দান গাইতেন, তাহা হইবাব যো নাই সব ছড়াতে সেই একই প্রসঞ্চ বিহৃত কবিতেন।

Such is the  $p\bar{a}mch\bar{a}li$  of the modern type. It is not known in what form it existed in earlier periods but the kind described began to be popular from the beginning of

Dasaratin Ray was undoubtedly the the 10th century greatest if not the earliest writer of the group but it is not beyond Ohronology of the Parichali-writers. doubt whether it was he who first modified its earlier form and set in the new fashion Before Dasarathi we get the name of Gangaram Naskar who is sometimes regarded as the founder of this new type and Guro Dumbo who is taken by some to be a parickali-writer and not a Kaluwala certainly flourished prior to Disarathi But of these earlier mysterious figures nothing practically is known and no specimen of their production has come down to us After Dita Ray came Sanayasi Chakrabarti Nabin Chakrabarti Rasik Ray Thukur Das Datta Gobardhan Das Kesab Chaind Namial Jadu Ghos and a host of others who were more or less followers and imitators of Dasarathi Ray, their acknowledged head in the line. The latter, therefore may not be unfittingly described as the great exponent and populariser if not the originator of vānickāli in its modern form

Thus although widely prevalent in the beginning of the 19th century we get no surviving specimen of

The most flourishing period of passchall falls outside our present scope, pāmekāls belonging to the period between 1800 and 1825 with which this volume is directly concerned for Dāšu Rāy humself was born in 1804

or 1805 and his imitators and followers belong to a period considerably later. Indeed, the most flourishing time of the modern pārketāls was between 1825 and 1860 and therefore strictly speaking, it falls outside our period. It was a form of entertainment which began to be popular after the reputation of the Kabiwalas had been already on the decline, pārketāls literature should, therefore, be more

fittingly taken up in its proper place in the treatment of the next period.

The same remarks with regard to chronology apply also to  $y\bar{a}li\bar{a}$ , a species of popular amusement which was closely allied to labi and  $p\bar{a}mch\bar{a}li$  and prevalent

from a very early period but of which specimens have come down from comparatively recent times. The traditional existence of  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  is known to us from time immemorial and in Bharat's  $N\bar{a}tyas\bar{a}stra$ , we hear of popular semi-dramatic performances which have been generally regarded as the probable precursor of the popular  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$ , on the

one hand, and of the later Sanscrit dramatic literature on the other In Bhababhūtr's Mālatī-mādhava, the

word  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  is used probably in the technical sense as well as in the general sense of a festivity. It cannot be determined now whether the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  lineally descended without deviation from these earlier popular festive entertainments of the operatic type, obtaining from the earliest times, or whether the later Sanscrit dramatic literature, especially represented in such irregular types as the  $Mah\bar{a}n\bar{a}taha$  or in the particular operatic types noted in all works on Sanscrit dramaturgy, reacted upon it and greatly modified its form and spirit. But it may be noted that the principal elements in the old  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  seem to be of indigenous growth, peculiar to itself. In the first place, the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ 

The principal elements in the  $y\overline{a}tr\overline{a}$ , peculial to itself

generally possessed a religious or mythological theme, pointing to a probable connexion with religious festivities and ceremonies. In the

next place, although there always existed a dramatic

<sup>1</sup> Mālatī mādhata (Bomb Sans Series Ed.), p 8

element, the song-element absolutely preponderated and the choral peculianties threw into shade its mimetic qualities. And lastly, there were anomalous and grotesque elements in it which at once indicated in partial absence of the dramatic sense and materially retarded its growth. All these naturally stood in the way of taking the yātrā out of its operatic structure and evolving the proper dramatic form and spirit that these at the same time helped to create by themselves in special nondescript species which cannot be confidently traced back to any known or recognised type of earlier times

But the yūtrū in however crude and undeveloped form, contained within itself the germs of a regular draina lithough the principal theme was drawn from religion or

Undeveloped and crude dramatic olements. mythology the realities of scenery and character were not absolutely ignored. It is true that there was hardly any action, and therefore there

was little analysis or development of character Even there was no scenio apparatus and all the dotails were left to the imagination of the audience. But all this was made up for by the gift of communicating life to the persons, the story, and the dialogues as well as by the rich operatio qualities of the performance. With the modern stage-actor or dramatist, the Yatrawala never enters into comparison he is working on a different scene, addressing a different audience and using different tools colours and methods Nevertheless within his limits, he could make his theme interesting and his characters lively by a natural gift of vivid representation. The makeshifts which he used were crude and taken in detail, his methods were faulty but he succeeded with all his rude resources making the whole picture impressive and entertaining to his andience. It is therefore quite natural to find the

Yātiāwala making a skilful use of the common yet useful device of mingling the ludicious and the pathetic in order to add a lively zest to the story The serious comic set off each other and relieve the melodiamatic strain of the whole performance Again, every representation was concerned primarily with the gradual unfolding of a single plot, it never consisted of a disjointed "padding" scenes and characters of unconnected Through necessarily slow and elaborate transition of the whole performance, the story is made to stand out clear and alive In the midst of all its surroundings and accessories, this was always kept in view in every regular yūliā of the once famous yātrā of Paramā Adhikārī, a writer in the old series of Bangadarsan lays stress upon the fact that Paramā's yātrā could never be realised in isolated seenes or songs, immitably done though they were, but the whole performance had to be witnessed from the beginning to the later periods, mundane subjects and secular end themes found then way into the religious yatra and its monotony and seriousness were relieved by the introduction of lively, though conventional, interludes of a faicical nature conducted by characters like Nārada or Madhu All these indicated the enormous possibilities Mangal of the yatra for gradually approximating towards the regular drama

In course of time, the drama proper might have, in this way, slowly evolved itself from the indigenous  $yatr\bar{a}$ , just in the same way as the English drama of the Renais-

Why the amorphous yātrā did not develop into the regular drama

sance evolved itself from the medieval mysteries and miracle-plays. There were, we have seen, inherent opportunities for such a course of

development The mimetic qualities of a yātiā, its realistic tendencies, its weaving out of a consistent plot, its

taste for a personal and lively dramatic story its mingling of the comic and the serious-all these traits more or less indicated that the amorphous yatra might have passed into an indigenous form of the regular drams. But as a matter of fact it never had done so in its whole course. Indeed in ancient Bengali literature inspite of these and other advan tages and of the presence of a pattern literature in Sansorit, we have practically nothing by way of dramatio composition and the beginnings of the stage and the drama in the 19th century Bengal on the other hand had httle connexion with the popular yatra We shall trace this point in detail in its proper place, but we may note here that notwithstanding these opportunities conditions were not favourable and there were serious obstacles, both external and internal which stood effectively in the way of such a development.

Although dissimilar in many respects the early yātrā shows in character and substance some resemblance to the

Contrast with the European medieval mystery and miracleplay medieval mystery and miracle play and both had their origin in the popular representation of religious themes But the conditions of growth and ex-

pansion differed considerably in the two cases

The intellectual readjustment which followed upon the Remaissance in Europe tended to the gradual secularisation of literature and the oreation of a vigorous mundane vitality which could supply the basis of the new theatre. Free belief replaced imposed orthodoxy moral fervour replaced determined religious practices, energetic action and emotion replaced external and mechanical

Influence of the Benaissance in developing European drama;

replaced external and mechanical discipline. With the disappearance of the bondage of medievalism, which had forbidden a life of nature and

worldly hopes, and with the appearance of the morally

and intellectually emancipated man of the Renaissance, life grew into a real thing. Vast and vital changes became manifest in the internal as well as the external world, in society, in politics, in religion, in the thoughts and aspirations of mankind. The drama was the natural outcome of this rich and manifold life, of this practical and positive movement which had placed literature on a purely human basis.

Bengal, on the other hand, never witnessed such a great movement, bringing in its train intellectual, moral and civic emancipation. There was no such universal awakening or enthusiasm. The external world had never possessed

but no such influence in ancient Bengal any inherent interest to the naturally storeal and idealistic Hindu and nothing happened which would take

away this inbied apathy His deep-looted pessimism with regard to this world and unlimited optimism with regard to the next had produced a storcal resignation, an epicurean indifference and a mystic hope and faith which paralysed personal action, suppressed the growth of external life, and replaced originality by submission. In literature, therefore, which was overwhelmed by the crushing idea of a brooding fate (advistabād) or of a divinity shaping our ends (debalītā), religion was the only theme which flourished itself and song or recitative poem was the only vehicle which conveyed this religious preoccupation

Influences which moulded national life and natural character in Bengal, not favourable to the development of the yūtiā into the drama

The prevalence of the rigoristic (sannyās) ideal and the natural prominence gives to sāttvik over the rāyasik qualities fostered an indifference to mundane activities and an absorption in supermundane affairs which materi-

ally hampered free expansion of ait, science and literature of the nation. A majestic common sense, a rich feeling

for the concrete facts and forces of human nature and buman life, a sense of onjoyment of the good things of earth, a passion of energy and action are truits which foster material civilization and arts but which are natagonaistic to Hindu ideas of placid contentinent to the insensibility amazement and cestasy of religious devotion to the wistfulness and pathos of spiritual desire. Even in Sanserit, complete secularisation of literature and development of poetry and drama could be possible in the more practical, positive and inaterially civilized oge of a Vilmmiditya or a Hargavardhan. A national drama is not only the product of national glory but it is also a sure index to the sensitive and energelic strength of the external life of the nation itself.

But there were drawbacks inherent in the yālrā itself which stood in the way of its developing into a drama proper and the forement of these drawbacks was the fact

The preponderance of the operatic and melodramatic elements in the put il, and its religious theme that in the yū/rā, the operatio and the melodramatic elements always proponderated over the dramatic. There was little dialogue still less action, but there was always an ex-

clusive predominance of songs in which even the dialogues were carried on and the whole action worked out. This over flow of the song-element, no doubt, redeemed much of the incongruities and anomalies of the yūtrū but it also told seriously on the development of its dramatic elements by tending to destroy, in a flood of music and musical epi sodes, all considerations of dramatic probability and propriety. The peculiar mode of singing changadis or the makūjan padas by 'pattan' or downing the peculiar variation of a tukko in the music of the kirtan was utilised by every Yātrākar for entrancing his audicace. An expert and skilful Yātrāwala, however, did notalways choose to walk

m this beaten way and we learn that in the yatra of Parama, already illuded to, there was less music and more dialogue-a device which was meant to infuse a diamatic interest in the story, yet it is well-known that the chief ittraction of the yitra consisted in its songs and that there was nothing more delightful than Parama's famous tokko whose musical quality no other yatrawale is said to have ever surpassed. A very considerable portion of ancient Bength Interature consisted of songs and of poems, which could be recited or chanted and the yatra in its peculiar lyine quality, strictly contormed to this widely prevalent lyric propensity. The influences which moulded national life and national characteristics helped rather than checked this universal tendency and there was absolutely nothing which could lift the yatra out of its religious envelopment or its musical structure

The yatra, again, began to be extremely popular from a literary period which powerfully contributed to its lyric and religious tendencies. The earliest reference to

emphasised and encouraged by the Baişnab literature, lyric and mystic in quality

the yātrā probably dates from the Barsnab era But Barsnabism, it it humanised literature to a certain extent, hardly ever secularised it It only intensified the religious ardour of the people

and brought with it a mass of lyine and mystic literature which was not only alien in its essence to the drama but which also encouraged the musical, melodramatic and religious predilections of the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  The Baisnab poets, no doubt, brought new ideas and novel modes of ait but it is hardly correct to designate the Baisnab era as the Renaissance period of Bengal <sup>1</sup> It would be out of place

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Süradācharan Mitia, in Sāhitya, 1815 B S.

to discuss this point here in detail but it may be pointed out that at least in the literary sphere Baisnahism was not a nurversal movement and its influence on contemporary and subsequent literature was never wide. In estimating this influence on the literature of the 17th and 18th centuries we must guard against the error of regarding it in the magnifying perspective in which we view it in the 10th or the 20th century, in which this influence has been very marked Basanahiam never disturbed seriously the uninterrunted course of Bengali literature from the earliest time down to the 18th century Side by side with Basnah songs and lyrics flourished the traditional chandl noews, manasar gan alkarna manoal, hibanan which in form and spirit bear little kinship with Baisnab productions and which affiliates itself with the earlier and later poetical literature of Benesl. Even a century later we find the same tradition carried on in the Padmabatt of Alkol. Durgapanekaratri of Jarat Ram Sibaran of Ramedyar. Annanita marical of Bharat-chandra, Garlaabhakti-tasanoini of Duras Prasad-all of which show little direct influence of Baranah ideas or Baranah forms of art. The socio-ethical ideas of Baianahism no doubt, mangurated a new line of culture, but its cosmopolitanism its ideal of nuiversal love and its theory of emotional realisation was antagonistio to the development of nationality or of national ideas A spark of new life animated the social organism but this new born religious outhusiasm hardly permitted its votarios to stand and east a look around them it carried them off their feet in a flood of devotional ecatasy, in a flood of lyno idealism. Instead of a full blooded dramatic literature, it gave us a mass of resplendent religious-amatory lynes

The influence of Baignahism therefore was hardly favour able to the development of the inherent dramatic elements in the  $y\bar{a}ti\bar{a}$ , on the other hand, it cherished its musical pecu-

Tho yātrā in the Baişnab era, influenco of Baişnab ideas

harities, developed its inclodiamatic tendency, and emphasised its religious predilections. Indeed, we find the Barshabs utilising the popular

yātrā as a means of representing brand-litā and diffusing its novel ideas. The earliest yatra of which we have any mention relate to such themes and was known technically and universally as the Arana-yatra In early Bengah literature prior to Chaitanya, no doubt, there prevailed songs relating to Saiba and Sakta cults and it is probable that with these prevailed also Siba-yatra and Chandiyatra, traces of which we find even in 18th century, and probably also Rām-yātrā which had, however, no kinship with the spectacular Ram-lila prevalent in the upper provinces It is extremely difficult, in the absence of data, to speak confidently on the subject but it seems that in comise of time with the advent of Baisnabideas, Kinna-yatra overshadowed all other kinds and became absolutely supreme The generic name of this yatra was Kaliya-daman yatra which, however, in spite of its name, related not only to this particular feat of Krsna but included also dan, man, mathur and other well-known lilas These yalras were preceded, as the Kīrtan of the Baisnabs were (taduchita ganrachandra), by the recitation of singing of a goura-chandri a term which unmistakably connects it with Gaurachandra or Chartanya In Chartanya-mangal and Chartanya-bhagabat 1 mention is made of a yatra-festivity organised by Chartanya himself ın the house of Chandiasekhai Achaiyya The history of

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Chaitanya bhāgabat, ed Atulkrana Gosvāmī, pp 283 291 The expression used is আজি ক্ৰিণ্ড ৰূঙা অংকঃ বিধানে, from which as well as from the account given, it is not clear whether it was a yātiā which was performed on this occasion or whether it was a regular sanscrit drama (such as the Baisnab plays liko Jugannātha ballabha, Dānakeli kaumudī or Vidagāha mādhava in Bengali version) which was enacted on this occasion

Bengali satra, therefore, is closely connected with that of Bassah literature in general and it would not be in correct to say that Basenahum supplied the ratea with themes for several centuries and confirmed if it did not directly give it its operatio and melulrametre qualities

These qualities persisted practically throughout its whole history But in course of time we find the ratra. numite of the drawback already noted gradually developing its crude dramatic elements After the Baisnab era the

Now elements in the wird finding its way

earliest well known Vitrawale was Paramanauda Adbikuri, a native of jules finding its way into it in later periods. Birbhüm who flourished probably in the 18th century and carried on the

tradition of Alliea-daman valra There was a prenter amount of action and dislogues in this rates although song melodrama and Baisnab themes were not altogether discarded. The tradition was continued by Sudama Adhi karı and Lochan Adhikarı the latter specially excelling in the delineation of Akrara Saihbad and Nimai Sannvasthemes which possessed greater human interest than the conventional dan, wan, wather of Srikrana Adhikāri of Krananagar Pitāmbar Adhikāri of Kūtwā and Kalachand Pal of Bikrampur, Dacea were comparatively recent exponents of the same Arena valva But the other species-Ram latra, Chandi Yatra Mansar Bhasan Yatrawere not totally extinct. Guruprasid Ballahli, of Fariadanga and Lausen Budal of Burdwan gamed considerable reputation in Chandi latra and Manear Bhaean latra, reapectively, while Raw Yatra obtained celebrity in the bands of Premchand Adhikuri Ananda Adhikari and Javachandra Adhikuri of Pituihuta. No specimen except a few scattered songs, has been preserved of these earlier Vatrawales

Such is the history of the yatra up to the beginning of the 19th century. After these professional yatras,

The yatra in the be ginning of the 19th century

come varieties of modern yātrār, chiefly amatem parties (sakher dat), in which, inspite of their profusion of instrumental and vocal music, drama-

Beltalā Emdedār Yātrā or the Yātrā of Gopāl Ude may be cited as instances. In imitation of prologues in Sanscrit drama, we have, in these, farcical introduction as well as interlude in which laughable, though often vulgar, characters like Kāluā Bhuluā, methar and methrāni began to figure. Again, we have here tor the general theme not Krana-līlā as in Kālīya-daman yātrā or even Chandī-līlā, Rām-līlā or Mansār Kathā but essentially secular themes of mythology or fiction such as Nala-damayanti or Bidyā-sundar began to be prominent, and later on with the degeneration of the yātrā in tone, temper and style, Bidyā-sundar alone became the prevalent theme

The existing specimens of the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$  all belong to this late period in its history. Although the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  had been extensively popular from the earliest times or even from the Baisnab era down to the middle of the 19th century, the earlier specimens have not been preserved. We know nothing of these earlier Yātrāwalas and their productions,

No earlier specimens preserved.

excepting some general accounts which we incidentally get here and there Even all the best known Yātrāwalas of

the 19th century, whose productions have, in a more or less complete form, come down to us, belong to a comparatively recent time, to the period between 1825 and 1850. The Yātrāwalas, flourishing between 1800 and 1825, some of whom have been already mentioned, are however known

hy name and reputation and even all the names are only known. This form of literature like the production not the Kabiwalas was extemporised and was meant to of tribute to the transient pleasure of its audience, and con much of it was of the sphemeral

printed speci The which have come mental belong to a down 850, peri

ind

type. The remarks already made on this aspect of the Kabi-song apply with equal force to the case of the yūtrā and, like the Kahi songs, it

onerated considerably in style and temper. No der mpt was ever made to preserve them in print and much attents it is now lost. Of the few well known of rawalas however, whose work has been more or less Yapodied in print, kṛṣṇa Kamal Bhaṭṭūchārya was born em int 1810, Gopal Ude about 1819 and Gobinda Adhikāri, abo se dates nre int exactly known, was probably a con whipprary of both these. All these writers therefore fall ten side the scope of this volume. It was about this time out, little later that the yātrā had already begun in degeor ate. This degeneration was almost synchronous with neil was therefore bastened by the change of taste and an rary fashion of the 19th century which came to regard bit.

legeneration of the bit, synchronous his and hastened by with the hange of literary then the little centary that the bit has t

of date and contemptible. With the spread of these new ideas and new literary methods, a regular stage was gradually established and dramas written in imitation of European

dels, tolled the death knell of the old yūtrū which still mogered hit never found the same place in popular favour linis not surprising therefore that in the preface to his it taaball, one of the earliest Bengali dramas written Ro this new stage Rūmnārāyan Tarkaratna, himself an forhodox pundit, speaks in contemptuous terms of the nrt

popular  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  and votes in favour of the new drama based on Sanserit and English models. The history of these latter-day Yātrāwalas, of this phase in the development of the  $y\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$  and of its connexion with the new drama will, therefore, be traced in its proper place in the next volume

## APPENDIX I

[See p to foot note p 119 foot note 3]

## OLD BEXGAIL PROSE

Though prove is more obviously natural to man in conversation it is only after considerable experience that he realises its utility as a medium of formal writing Bengali Literature is no exception to Late growth of prose. this rather commonplace verse-firstprose-afterwards alage of literary history Our forefathers from the very earliest times, no doubt, spoke in proso but it is possible to use prose without knowns or thinking about it, and the late development of proce-writing in Bengali follows generally the order of development in almost all languages. Indeed the achievement of early Bengali prose is not only very late but speaking generally it amounts to almost nothing such achievement as there is, for several centuries, is in verse Poetry attained a considerable degree of maturity while we have nothing but a niere lisping of prose. Predominance of verse preponderance of one form of writing partially explains and is explained by the extreme poverty of the other but it is more than a case of preponderance, it is one of monopoly. It may almost be said that there is not a single piece of spirited prose of the profane kind in Bengali from the earliest times to the early beginnings of the 19th century whatever exists of other kinds is again late, scanty and for the most part frankly unsaturactory

Not only the bulk of early prose literature is late and seanty but it is not yet quite reasonably clear that what

has come down exemplifies very fairly the whole upon which we may fully form an estimate. Much of early Bengali prose, like its verse, is lost much again vet remains to be intearthed. The only

Difficulties in the way of our study

specimen of very early prose which probably goes beyond the 16th century

is to be found in the tew doubtful passages interspersed m the verses Sūnya Purān and perhaps in the apocryphal work attributed to Chandidas other prose specimens, mostly cryptic and mystical writings of the Sahajiva sect, together with a little good prose-writing of other kinds, may all be taken to be productions of late 18th century, none of them certainly going beyond the 17th attempt to estimate the development attained by old Bengali prose, as shown by these scanty remains, must of necessity be somewhat superficial and incomplete, not only in view of the fragmentary nature of much of these writings but also because of the difficulties of chronology Most of these manuscripts are undated and show considerable differences of readings. Nature of the script and general style of composition are at best unsafe guides, not only in themselves, but also because the one is not yet a matter of systematic study while the characteristic specimens of the other in different periods are not yet available. Even when the manuscripts are dated, the exact relation of the manuscript to the date of composition it is almost impossible to determine These difficulties are multiplied again by the presence of divergent readings in different manuscripts of the same work. It is needless to say that unless we can stand upon firm and sure ground in matters chronology, not to speak of insufficiency of materials to go upon, we can hardly expect to form a correct and critical estimate of our subject of study and all our attempts in this direction are at best nothing more than tentative.

The earliest specimen of Bengali prose is supposed to be the short passages in Rimai (or Ramai) Pandit's Sanya Paran, the manuscript of which is placed by its editor (Sahitya Parisat edition) in the 17th century although the so-called

prose passages if not the verse, reveal a Earliest extent proce specimen Su ya Puran much earlier and more antique form of diction If the language of the recently published Sri Krana Lirtana belongs to the early part of the 14th century 1 we can safely assume that the prose of Sanga Paran must have had its origin in a somewhat earlier age and the supposition is not unlikely that the passages as we have them may contain traces of the original writings of Rama: Pandit going back to at least 13th century A D 2 varied and modified it may be by later scribal and other interferences. It would be interest ing to examine these ancient specimens entically but such examination is beset with difficulties not only on account of the frankly unintelligible vocabulary and crabbed syntax considerable corruption of the text rightly commented

Passege on Baranasa upon by many a critic, but also because of the exclusive and esotence doctrines they embody, which seem to create a language of their own whose meaning is all but lost to us. Here is a portion of the celebrated passage on spanify

কোন মানে কোন সাসি। চৈত্ৰ মানে খীনগানি। হে কালিনি বল বার ভাই বার আধিও। হখ গাতি লহ নেবকর অর্থ প্রধানি। বেবক হব স্থবি আমনি বীনাং করি। তাক পাতিত ধেউল্যা দানপতি। সাংস্বর ভোকা আননি সম্যানী পতি লাইতি পাত্রন বাত্রন হআরি স্থারি স্থার লাল তাতারী ভাতারীপান প্রবিশ্ব কোনি কোটাল পরে স্থ শুক্তি তাহি ধেউনে পড়িব ক্ষম কনকার। ধাতার লানপতির বিশ্ব আর নাস।

A Preface to Krislakurionya, H. P. Shantri in Calcutta Review pp. 392-93

H. P Shaatri op. cić. p. 394.

কোন মাসে কোন বাসি। বৈশাগ মাস মেস বাসি। হে বন্ধনেৰ বাব ভাই বাব আদিও হাথ পাতি লেহ সেবকৰ পূপ্পানি। সেবক হব স্থা আমনি বামাৎ করি। ওক পভিত দেউলা দানপতি সাংস্থব ভোকা আমনি সন্নামী ( ) সন্নামী) গতি ভাইতি গাএন বাএন খুআৰি ছুআৰপাল ভাঙাৰী ভাঙাৰপাল বাজন্ত ফোমি কোটাল পাবেক স্থা মুক্তি। এহি দেউলো পজিব জ্লা ভাষাৰ। বিমাধ গোলে জৈট মানে বুদ বাসি। বৈমাধ গোলে জৈট মানে বুদ বাসি।

and so forth through all the months of the year in the same strain

On first reading this fantastic piece of apparently unitythmical writing would hardly seem to be prose at all and it has been doubted if it is prose or verse or none, or a curious admixture of the two. But a careful study will make it clear that is not verse in any sense but probably prose, although it may be prose of a kind unfami-

Close relation of prose and verse in old Bengali literature har to us, and that it has a distinct thythm of its own. When carefully examined, this and other passages, if the text is correct, will reveal that here

for the first time there is a perception, however faint, of the existence of distinct styles of prose and verse, although the instruments of the two harmonies may not have been very clearly differentiated <sup>1</sup> In order to understand the

All these speculations are based on the assumption that what the passages embody is really prose. They have been always taken as such, but my own suspicion is that they are really verse-lines, perhaps imperfectly recorded fragments, not properly examined or shifted with care when the text was edited and printed from the original Mss Unfortunately I had no access to the original manuscript, in the possession of the editor, upon which the text is chiefly based, and had to depend entirely upon the Sāhitya Parişat edition which is anything but what scientific scholarship would desire. There is no attempt to render

nature of this nessage we must bear in mind that the connexion between old Bengali verse and old Bengali prose was extraordinarily close. There was a time indeed. when writers of this literature bardly ever recognised the separate existence of prose as a vehicle of expression, classifying it, in theory as a species of poetry itself and calling it shows or proce-motre and in practice making their prose, with alliteration, balanced accent, and other devices look as much like their own verse as nomible. It is a well known fact that much of this proce like the passage just quoted interspersed in the midst of verse, was con sciously adapted not only to read like verses but to be sung or obanted after the manner of Kathakas or rhapsodusts It is curious to note in this connexion that in many of these prose pieces we find the blands or signature of their respective anthors in the same way as we find them in their poetical compositions

Anyone, studying the pressege already quoted and those that follow even with moderate attention, will have no difficulty in agreeing to what has been said as to the close relation between early press and verse. Not only the condensed mode and ordonnance of verse is followed here but the symmetry of the lines turns of phrases peculiar

the passages intalligible in spite of the addition of a very imperfect glowery. The text is suspiciously corrupt and the editor himself acknowledges that he had no time to collate the three m n scripts with the published text but that he had got it done by his pundita. There is nowhere any i direction of varietions of readings given by the different manuscripts utilised, nor any sitempt even to determine the correct reading. This is a most strange fact and renders the edition entirely value to a scientific student. The Swape Pardy as it stands now is an extremely difficult book to edit with all that indisperselbe critical apparatus and the Ethitya Paripas must be praised for its boldness in undertaking to reprint it; but one would wish that the schol vahip displayed in hringing out this edition had been equal to the boldness of this difficult undertebil or

to verse, the refram-like repetition of sentences, the very

exemplified also by the passage under dis cussion irequent intrusion of halt-staves or full verse-lines (like দাতাৰ দানপতিৰ বিদ্ৰ জাব নাস or এহি দেউলৈ পভিৰ ধ্ৰম জ্যাকাৰ) capable of accumte scan-

sion, occasional occurrence of end-thymes, and lastly, the muffled under-hum of verse-rhythm throughout all indicate that the passage, in its close approach to the rhythm and tune of poetry, was meint, it it is prose at all, to be chanted with the verses to which it was only an appendage. Here is another passage, more intelligible and more varied, in which the characteristics already indicated are more prominent.

হে জয়৸য় হে বিজয়৸য় তুয়ি সংয় ২ইএ চিবাই। তুয়াব য়য়ে
তান কবেন শ্রীবর্দ্ম গোমাঞি। অভিসেক য়লে তান মনথিব কৈনের
পাবন সইতেব পাবন সচল অচল সৃষ্টি শুয়িলেন গোমাঞি ভকতবংনল।
য়্বনেব কোদাল কপাব বাট। মহাদেব কুদালেন স্বর্গ নর্ত্ত পাতাল।
জটাব কুলে পেলেন নীব দে নীব লইয়া দমমন্ত গতি বাখানি। এয়া
হইলেন পণ্ডিত বিষ্টু হইলেন কয়ি নহাদেব মেলি কবেন য়লপাবন।
মূলপাবন স্থলপাবন গোয়াপাবন ছায়াপাবন পণ্ডিভপাবন উত্তব দখিন পূব
পচ্চিম পাবন। জীঙাপাবন। কায়াপাবন মৃত্তপাবন বডপাবন। য়বয়য়
প্র্রেলি ক্রপাব ঘাট এহি ফুল জলে স্তান কবেন শ্রীদেব কবতাব। আদ্রুপতি
অনাদ্রপতি কবিব সাব। এহি মুদ্ধ পাটে বর্ম্মব আগুমাব। অনুস্থা
বেল পলাম মোউলর পাত। সিনান কবেন প্রত্তু ভিদেসব নাথ।
স্তান সন্ধ্যা (? সন্ধা) গোমাঞিব চাম্পান দিব ঘাট (?)। ধবল সিংহাসন
গোমাঞির ধবল পাট। উরিলেন গোমাঞি ঝলমল করিএ কধ্বে নবগুন
সৈপতা।

It will be noticed that in this passage there are lines at the beginning and at the end, which form distinct couplets having regular end-rhymes. The opposite tendency of having rhythmic prose lines in the midst of verse will be exemplified in the lines on Afrain to be found at p 61 of the Sahitya Parisat edition. The following again is a curious illustration of mixed pressue poetic style.

কেছ নাট কাটে কেছ পাধর চাঁছে ছাতী মানুধন পটা কাটি এটিছা ছিছিলা নাশিনা অধিনা সত ছাতে হইল পোতা। বাতিত পাধর চারি পাতি কর কতে হল তুল অলার আলা। কাঞ্চন বাঁধিলা নেলে করিল কাট ভাল (গুকাচ ঢাল)। মওলে ফটকের থাম লাগে চন্দন নারম। আর সাত ডকে (গু) লাগিল গলান। ইলা মওপে ধর্মন সভা করে। বেরাল পাটর গাটী অলার কন্তি লাগে রপার বাধারি ছিটকে তবির উপরে বেরাল পাটর গাটী সভার কন্তি লাগে রপার বাধারি ছিটকে তবির উপরে বেরাল পাটর গাটী সভা করে গোচি বলে ধরে। নউর পুঞ্র ছাইনি বর্দ্ধর হর। বেরাল পাটর গাটী পিড়ান্দ সভা করে। ব্রার কলস লেওব প্রার্থন আলাই ক্লাস তথি উড়ত লেওব ধুতি। অনার কলস লেওব প্রাঞ্জন ক্লাস ভবি ইল্ল ক্লামিটা বিনায়র মানাইল অন্তর্গাল। এইপ্র চরণগুলে প্রিচ্ছ রামাই তনে হল ক্লাবি মনাহর (গুলাবার) হলা অর্থনা করিলা ভার পুল নির্মান ছলি হল ৬৭নদী পার।

These passages it must be admitted are not fine hiterary specimens by themselves but to a student of literary history their formal import

What there passages filestrate.

ance is very great. Thus illustrate, if not anything else at least the fact

that prose has not yet fully emerged itself and come into prominence, at that particolar stage as a distinct mode of writing although there is at the same time a faint indication of such understanding in the literary mind. This is not what we onderstand by prose-poetry or poetical prose

Differentiation of the styles of prose and verse bot the instruments of the two harmooies are so nearly ideotical that the products slide and grado off into one another very easily and undistin

guishably This may be called the beginning of proce-

may be found in the early prose of other languages and which leaves little doubt as to the value and relative anti-

quity of the specimens of question

Prose evolving out We see here the very early stages in the processes by which prose is slowly evolving itself out of poetry and asserting its right to recognition as a medium of expression altogether distinct from verse. It is a matter of regret, however, that we cannot trace other stages in this process as we do not possess any documents of prose-writing of this or sub-

One of the curious effects of their intermixture of prosaic and poetic styles is the idea, however imperfect, or rhythmical arrangement in these prose passages. Of course,

sequent periods until we came to the 16th century

Rhythmic effect

verse and prose thy thms have entirely different values and the harmony of the one is not always desirable in the

other yet, if it is not iash to doginatise in the absence of any but slight and scrappy knowledge of the phonetics of early Bengali, we cannot mistake the fine effect of symphonic arrangement (partly due to the presence of versicles) which the lines, perhaps unconsciously, attain. Of actual syntax there may not be much nor is there any attempt at balance of phrase or periodic sentence-framing, although there is certainly a knowledge of the value of short and long sentences but the very fact that the passages were meant as appendages to verse and composed with the not unlikely object of being sung gives them a peculiar rhythmic effect, rudimentary yet not children, which it is impossible to ignore

The apocryphal prose piece, Chartya Rūpa Prāpti passing

Ohnstya Rūpa Prāpti,
attributed to Chandīdoes not, from our point of view,
tequire any special examination. The

following passage.

তৈত এর পের রাচ অধরণ বাড়ি। রাঅকংর রার পাড়ি। চ আকংর চেতন লাড়ি। র এতে চ মিনিল রা এতে বসিল। ইবে এক অবা লাড়ি। বাপ রতি। বাড়ির নাম হবা। সেই লাড়ি ধাতাইশ প্রকার।

will sufficiently indicate the same admixture of prose and verse-forms—and indeed we have a reference in the Padakalpatarn to having soni of Chandidis but the sen tences are shorter and the vocables more modern. The manuscript is dated 1874 and it is probable that the language does not go much earlier than that date. The frigid drip of occurnaire talk—for it professes to explain tinitink theories in riddle like language and hiref aphorism sentences almost always dropping the verband seldom running beyond three or four words at a time—does not seem to allow much scope for the prose either to run fluently or to evince any remarkable hierary aptitudes.

This have dry fatiguing aphonistic manner is illustrated hy a body of so-called philosophic writings relating to the Sahanya cult, which belong in all Sahajiya writings (1/thand 18th century) probability to the 17th and the 18th centuries The first work that calls for mention in this group is the curious mannecript called Dehakadacha, attributed to Narottama Thakur the text of which was published in the Sakitra Parisat Patrika (1304) no 1 pp 39 46) The date of the oldest manuscript 15 1003 Saka (1081 AD) and this date as well as the similarity of style and manner would place the work in the age in which the last mentioned Chant Idas apocrypha was written The text of this mannscript, however, seems to be almost identical (making due allowance to triffing scribel and other variations) with that of Alma-notiana. ascribed to Krana las (Sahitya Pangat manuscript no 1474) <sup>1</sup> The vexed question of authorship of the sources of the works in question, their origin in an earlier Svarūpa-kalpataru, does not concern us here in the least, not have we anything to do with their literary associations with the doctrines, real or imaginary, of the Sahajiyā cult and its mystical sublimation, what concerns us most is that Naiottama, if Naiottama he was, or Krsnadās, if Krsnadās there was, wrote in a severely scholastic manner, bare, dry and aphoristic abounding in technicalities, which may be suited for doctrinal exposition but which hardly shows any attempt, conscious or unconscious, at producing either style or rhythm. Here is a characteristic specimen from the beginning of Dehak ideha, with the corresponding additions and variations in brackets from the text of Ātma
nigātāsā. <sup>2</sup>

See Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, 1306, no 1, p 49 and no 4, p 827, ibid 1305, p 197, ibid, 1304, no 4, p 302

The text of  $\overline{A}tmajig\overline{n}as\overline{a}$  here follows that of the Sähitya Parisat manuscript (no 1474) Other manuscripts noticed in the Patrika (referred to in footnote 1) give slightly different readings

In the same strain is the following from the  $K\bar{a}r_ik\bar{a}$  supposed to be written by Rüpa Gosvāmi, which is noticed in the  $B\bar{a}ndkab$  1289 BS (p. 369).

শ্ৰীপ্ৰীমাণাবিনোৰ কৰে। স্বৰ্ধ বৰ্তনিৰ্বাহা আধন শ্ৰীক্ষণেক প্ৰপানিৰ্বাহা প্ৰকাশ বাহন্তৰ অপৰাপ সমস্তাশ স্পানিতৰ এই পাঁচন্তৰ। এই পঞ্চনৰ শ্ৰীনতা বাহিন্দাতেও বদে। প্ৰকাশ কৰে গছৰেৰ নানাতে অপৰাপ নেতে বসন্তাশ নাবাহ ও স্পানিতৰ স্বৰ্ধে। এই পঞ্চন্তৰে পূৰ্ব্বাগেৰ উৰহ। পূৰ্ববাধের মূল হুই। হুঠাং প্ৰবৰ্ধ ও অক্সাং দৰ্শন।

There are several other works Abraya-Nirijaya <sup>2</sup> AtmaOther works

Other works

Mirapana <sup>2</sup> Soarapa-barnana <sup>4</sup> Rāga

mayī laņa <sup>3</sup> much later productions
but all attributed after the ancient manner of lumping all

The text as given here apparently modernized in spelling follows that given n Bandhab and quoted also by Dinash Chandra Sen in his Bunya Rhāgā O Sāh tya 2nd Rd p. 623. The text as quoted above occurs also in a manuscript called ain-nini by Narottama Dās, as follows we believ gweet fafa 1 ainjam wallearit | we ni and mid-nini nweet fafa 1 ainjam wallearit | we ni and and ni and

See Patrika, 1306, no 3, p. 251 also p. 87

There are two manuscripts of this work in the Sihitya Parişat (nos. 831 and 1471) The following quotation is taken from earlier manuscript no. 1471 (dated 1947 B.8) See also notice of this work in Petrikā 1304, no. 4, p. 303 in which mention is also made of another manuscript dated 1098 B.8. See also P trika 1308, p. 53 where this work is attributed to varottama.

Sahitya Parisat monuscript no. 333 (dated 1247 B B) See also Patriki 1304, no. 4 p 802 (where the date of the manuscript noticed is 1218 B.S.) and this 1306, no. 1 p. 49.

Patriki, 1305 no 1 p. 80; 81d, 1304 no. 6 pp. 343-4 (manuscript dated 1031 B 9); 5 d 1308, no. 1 p. 79 (manuscripts A ted 1184 and 1248 B.P.)

Patriki, 1304, no 4 pp. 333-34; ibid, 1306, p. 66. See Patriki 1308, pp. 40-41 where passages are quoted from other prose works v.: Sampifild and Sudhandinaya. anonyma upon a single apocryphal figure of traditional repute, to Krsnadās, which exhibit the same characteristic disjointed style, peculiar to this kind of 17th and 18th century writings. It is needless to multiply quotations but one or two short specimens would not be quite out of place.

অথ ব্ৰজে পঞ্চাব।। সান্ত ১ দাস্ত ২ স্থা ৩ বাৎখণ্য ৪ মৰ্ব ৫ এই পঞ্চাব। সাঙ্গেব পাত্র কে। সনকাদি Specimens भूनिश्व। खन कि निर्धाखन। मास्यव পाज রৈভর্যো হন্নমান ঠাকুব। মাধুয়ে এজে সর্ব্বে এবং গোপীগন। ওল কি সেবা। সথ্যেব পাত্র কে। এনর্ধ্যে অর্জুন ঠাকুব। মারুর্ধ্যে শ্রীদাম স্থদামাদি। গুন কি সনতাগুন। বাচ্ছণ্যেব পাত্র কে॥ বৈদর্গ্যে বস্তুদেব দ্বৈকি ॥ মাধুর্য্যে নন্দ জ্বোদা। গুন কি মনতাগুন। মরুব ভাবেব পাত্র শ্রীরাধিকা এবং এজাগনা সকল। গুন কি গ্রিম্বাব। গাম চাবি প্রকাব। শ্রীবৃন্দাবন ১ গোণক ২ মথুবা ৩ ধারকা ৪। শ্রীবৃন্দাবনেব পাত্র শ্রীনন্দনন্দন। গোলকে স্বধং ভগবান। মথুবায় বাস্কদেব। দ্বাবকায় নাবায়ন। ভাব গ্ৰহ প্ৰকাব। ভাব মহাভাব। ভাবেব পাএ গোপীগন। মহাভাবেব পাত্র শ্রীমতি বাধীকা। ভাব প্রকিষা। কোন প্রকিষা। উর্জ্ঞল প্রকীয়া। কোন উর্জ্জ্ঞল। ব্যোর্জ্জল। কোন ব্য প্রেমবদ। কোন প্রেম। বিলাষ প্রেম। কোন বিলাদ। মধুব বিলাস। কোন মধুর। জুগল মধুব। কোন জুগল। বাধাঞ্চ। ( খাশ্রম নির্ণম বা ভজন নির্ণম )

পবম বস্ত হয় জেই কোথা তাব স্থিতি। কোথা হইতে আদিখা কবে
শতদল পদ্মে স্থিতি। শতদল পদ্মে দেখ সেহ বেহাব কবে। বেহাব দাস্স হৈলে পুত্ম সেই স্থানে চলে॥ এনা অক্ষয় বিজ ব্য়েস নিত্তী কৈসব।
নাইকা হইতে স্থিতি॥ নাএকেব দঙ্গ হইলে প্রেমবস জন্মিলে। তাহাতে
প্রবম বস্তাব উৎপতি। তাব এক বিন্দু নিক্সিলে কামভুবে। কামেব দেস হয় কো। চেতন চিন্তিত অস্বিক্ত॥ নিতাই চৈতন্ত অবৈতে তিন দেসে তিন স্থিতি। মুথে চেতন চৈতন্ত বন্দে চিন্তিত নিত্যানল॥ অলিক্ত নৰৈত মধ্যতে। তিন ধেনে তি নগতি। কানেগ বিভিন্তকে। তাহাকে সৰ্ব্যাবদি। তোনেগ বিভিচ্নসভলে। তাহাকে নহাস্কাবদি। সত্যা জিব আন্ধাত নহাবাধা গ্ৰম্থানা বিব আন্ধানাগ্ৰন। সন্ম আন্ধাবন্দন্দ। (আন্দির্গণ)

It would be hardly necessary to pass in review or cite passages from other Sahajiya works like Trigunātmikā 1 Brajapatala Karika Kriyamatijari Characteristics of the style of these lateaurapana 3 Jighasapatri.4 writings. of which belong to the same age of prose-writing and exhibit similar characteristics nor is much advance noticeable in Radhaballabli Das's Saharalatra, or Rasabhakti-chandrikā (also called Asrayanimaya) of Chartnya Das quoted by Dinesh Chandra Sen in his Bunga Sakitya Parickay 8 It is possible that this may have been the poculiar esotene sectaman manner of the Sahajiyas but all these writings may also indicate a stage in Bengali prose composition (very unlike that indicated hy the Sanya Paran pieces) in which an aphoristic form of theological exposition was widely prevalent, partly due to the exotic influence of Sanserit Sutra literature or Sutra form of writing and partly perhaps an judigenous growth formed upon the manner of exposition followed in native tols One cannot but be struck by the evenness of method

and manner—the sameness of production—of these Sahajiya works the one work may as well have been written b, the author of the other—there being hardly any

<sup>1</sup> Patrika 1304, p 415

Sahitya Parisat, MS no. 305 Sahitya Parisat, MS no. 338.

Sibitya Paripat, MS. no 937

Vol. II, pp. 1855-58 and pp. 1860-61 Sahaja-tatra is also noticed in Patriki, 1306, pp. 76-77 Rasabhakh-chandrilli (also called Bhajaha-nirgaya) in Patriki, 1300, p. 63.

Some improvement, however, in the direction of periodic and sustained prose will be found in some late works belonging probably to the Other prose write 18th century and certainly not going beyond it. The language here is simple enough in syntax and vocabulary there is no

argumentative or expository purpose in view, no preva

Improvement in the direction of periodic and sustained pross style. lence of stock subject or stocktechnicalities. Of these works Byndabana-libs is really a remarkable composition from our point of view.

oniposition from our point of view It describes with all the enthusiasm of the faithful devotes the sacred groves and temples of Bindahan We begin with the general topography of the holy place.

শ্রীপ্রীবৃশানিদা কিঞ্চিত নিক্ষতে। স্মানৌ শ্রীশ্রীবৃশাবন ওঁংগন নব্যে
শ্রীশ্রীপোবিশনীর মন্দির ভাষার উত্তরে শ্রীশ্রীপোবিদাবলীর মন্দির ভাষার
পশ্চিমে কিছু ছর হর মদন খোল্মনীর মন্দির
শ্রীশ্রীবৃশাবনের গশ্চিম বিগে কালিদ্ধ মন্তবেশ

অন্তর্ভারতের সালিব বার্তিনার ক্ষম তাহার উত্তরে কামিধর উত্তরে ক্রমণ তাহার উত্তরে কামিধর উত্তর কিনারে পূর্বাধাট তাহার উত্তরে মুর্গ্রাট তাহার পূর্বে বিরন্ধির তাহার পূর্বে চির্নাট বাহান চরে বাট কেছ ২ পোরিন্দাট কহেন ভাহার পূর্বে কেশীবাট তাহার পূর্বে ম্বিন্দ্রন ভাহার পূর্বে বিরক্তমকণ তাহার প্রক্রে বিরক্তমকণ তাহার পাকনে কিছু হর হয় অনুনাজীর পাক্তিম বাবে ভোলনটিলা বেখানে অল্ল পাছিব হানে অর্ম মাগিয়া বাইরাছিলেন ভাহার শক্তিমে ধাবান ভাহার পাক্তিমে পূনক কামিধের ধাক্তম কিনারা উল্লেখ্যিক কামিধেন ক্রমণান্দ্রন মন্তর্গালী কর্মবেহারি নালবেহারি রাধ্বেরারি ক্রমবেহারি নালবেহারি রাধ্বেরারি ক্রমবেহারি বার্যারিক রাধানান্দ্র রাধানান্দ্রন ক্রমণান্দ্র ক্রমণান্দ

The text here follows 83hitys Parisat MS. no. 928 MS. is incomplete and undated but it does not seem to be very old and its date is probably latter part of the 18th century Dinesh Oh who Sen in his Backs Bhaşā O Sāhitys (2nd Ed. p. 630) speaks of a MS of this work which is, in his regue language about 150 years old...

ठाक प्रानियां प्रिक्नाशिक्य भाषनहात (शाशीकनवत्तव এवः अहनक > विद्यह আছেৰ অনংক্ষী সংক্ষা কে কৰিৰেক প্ৰতি প্ৰজৰামীৰ বৰে বৰে মেৰা অসংক আছেন অতিত কেই চুটকি কৰেন কেই মারুকুৰি বিৰক্ত ঠাব্যবা প্রকেরেও क्लीयां शृक्षिनवरन वर्गावरहे विवयम्हित हिनदारहे ७ दूध । वार्व उद्भावार उद्भावार কোথাও গ্ৰনাগ্মন নাঞী জন্তপীৰ মহোংমন ব্ৰিয়া বেছ সাহিত্য আনিজা নিকটে নেন তাহা নৈনে নতুন নতুনা জিহাবনিগের ভিজাক্রন নাঞী জিহাবা এডাচক হলন মাটনৰ উপৰাস হয় বেল। সুমূনাজীৰ जन **भाराव उथा**ठ कार्यिव स्नोक्त्या वष्ट्रे टी.टी.कन्तवस्तव स्टिस्न डिन ক্রোষ মথুবা মথুবাৰ উত্তৰে জমুনাজিব প্রশিচনবাৰে একু যোট কংশেৰ আদেনে নন্দীপুৰ ২ইতে ক্বফাৰলবামধ্যে মথুৰা জানিতে তে হাটে কুফ বলবামকে ডান্দায় বথে বাবিয়া অক্রব স্নান কবিয়াছিশেন ভাষাতে অক্রব ठिकूव ज्ञथन भ्रांग करवन ज्ञथन भूव स्विद्धान द्वारत इराव डिज्य त्रव्य क्ष्यवनवागरक मिथितन विश्वव इंद्रेग मश्रक ज़्लिया जान्नाग हुश र विमा त्रार्थन পুর্বনত ডামায় বগ আবোহনে আছেন পুন: পুন: ক্ষেক্ষার দেগিলেন যা বুঝিলেন নিবন্ত হইলেন সেয়াটের পশ্চীমে অজুনচাহুবের একথানি গ্রাম আছেন তাহাতে এক দেবা আছেন তাহাব দক্ষিনে মণুবা সহব মধ্যে বিপ্রান্তবাট কৃষ্ণবলবাম বথ ২ইতে নাধিয়া সেই বাটে বনীশাছিলেন জমুনাজীব জ্বপান কবিয়াছিলেন পূর্ব্ব দিগে পূর্য্যবাট সেথানে বান বাজা তপস্থা কৰিদ্নাছিলেন তাহাৰ পূৰ্ব্ব ক্ৰবৰাট সেধানে ক্ৰবঠাকুৰ পঞ্চৰংসবেৰ কালে তপস্থা কবিধাছিলেন আৰ আৰ চন্ধিৰ বাট আছেন মথুবাৰ মব্যধানে সেখানে কেশো বারজীব মন্দিব মথুবাব পশ্চীনদিগে কাবাগাব জেথানে বস্থদেব দৈবকি নিগুভবন্ধনে ছিলেন সেম্বানে দৈবকিঠাকুবানি প্রসব ২ইগ্রা-ছিলেন সে স্থান অত্যাবধি প্রকট আছেন মথুবাব দক্মিনদিগে কংস বাজাব আবাষ এবং দক্ষিন দিগ পুর্ব্বনশ্চীম পর্ব্যন্ত গড আছে অতি উচ্চতব গডেব মধ্যখানে এক নিবঠাকুব আছেন জে সিব কংসবাজা পুজা কবিতেন মথুবাব দক্ষিনে অন্ধিক্রোষ সান্তাপ্তকুণ্ড সেথানে ঠাকুবেরা মধুপান কবিয়াছিলেন তালবনের রক্ষক ধেন্তুক নামে এক অন্তর ছিল তাহাকে বধ করিয়াছেন

स्थारन क्षत्र ठावशाह नाकी छाहात छेडरत क्षत्रकार कुनमरन क्ष কুণ্ড বড় লাছে ভাছাতে এখাবধি লনেক কুনুদ হয় ঠাহার পশ্চিমে এক ক্ৰোৰ বহুণবন ভাৰার পশ্চীন দক্ষিন চারি ক্রোব রাধাকও ভারার পূর্বে ভাষকও ছই কৃত্তে একতে দিবন কিন্তু মধ্যে প্রধ্যের পাকে। সক্ষ থাছেন মধ্যে মধ্যে মুরি সকল আছে খলের প্রমাণ্যন স্থা ভইতেছেন ভানপুথের উত্তর শণিতাপুথ ভাষাতিত্তি ঐকার সাকো ও মুরি আছে ভাষকুংওর দক্ষিনে তথাৰ বৃদ্ধ ইণানে গোবিশকীর যেরা রাধাকুণ্ডের বস্ত বড় সহল সহল ২০০০ থাছেন রাধাকুত্তর দ্বিনে এক ক্রোব পোবর্ছন পর্বাত্ত নউরাঞ্চিত উত্তর দক্ষিলা পর্বাত রাধাকুও প্রাধকুও ছই নেত্র হুএন গোবর্ত্বন পর্বং ১৯ উত্তরদিপে পূর্বাধারে ব্রক্ষের চরণ চিহ্ন তাহার দক্ষিনে প্রায় মধ্যধানে মানশী গলা বিভারিত বড় মধ্যে মধ্যে বাঁকা বাঁকা আছেন মল সভাপি চথ্যত চ্তুদিনে প্রার্থের বান্দা চারিদিগে বসত এবং অভিতের কুঠুরি নান্দ প্রার পশ্চিন্দিপে এক্সেরী রামা ব্যন সিংখ তাহার এক বাটা বড় চিত্র বিচিত্র তাহার উত্তর্গিলে স্লাতন গোসাঞের ভলন কঠরি এবং চারি নশিংর চারি সিব ঠাকুর আছেন ৮.৯.ভিৰ্য বলিপ্ৰতের উপর নানান বন নানান আঠির বৃক্ষ পত্র প্রবাদী সলা নেখবত এবং পর্যান্ত নেখের হ্যোতি মধ্যপানে পুরি রায়নীর নন্দির ব্ৰদ্ৰকণ্ডের ধন্দিন এক্ষকতে গোপাল বাহমীর মন্দ্ৰির নিটো গোবর্ডন পর্মত ধারন করিছাছিলেন নানান স্থাতিছ বিষ্ণু এবং নানান পক্ষ নানান ধানি कविरुद्धकरा

It is impossible not to be struck with the realitive excellence of these passages. In the first place we notice,
bere a really remarkable attempt at
substained prose-writing, a great
advance in the facility of handling
and a positive tendency to vivacity. In the next place,
Descriptive prose. the widening and varying of the
range and methods of prose by its
application to new subjects is a fact of great significance.

and it is this application of prose to pure narration, description, or conveyance of information in a straightforward intelligible way—children things of prose, no doubt, but its best exercising ground in intance—that gives it an ease and fluency attained here for the first time in its history—The description, though a little monotonous, are yet not dry but the very pretorial-poetical nature of the subject-matter often enables the writer to strike into something like style in its proper sense—Here is another passage.

তাহাব উত্তবে একপোষা পথচাবন পাহাডি পর্নতের উপবে রক্ষচল্লেব চবণ চিহ্ন বেন্দ্র বংসেব এবং উঠেব এবং মহিশেব এবং ছেলিব এবং খাব আব অনেকেব পদচিক্ত আছেন জে দিবস বেল্ল লইয়া শেই পর্য্যতে গিণা-ছিলেন সে দিবদ মুবলিব গানে জনুনা উদ্ধান বহিণাছিলেন এবং পাদান গলিখাছিলেন সেই দিবস এই সকল পদচিহ্ন হইনাছেন। গয়াতে গোবৰ্দ্ধনে এবং কান্যবনে এবং চবন পাহাডিতে এই চাবি স্থানে চিহ্ন এক সমতুন ইহাতে কিছু তবতন নাঞী চবৰ পাহাডিব উত্তবে চই ক্ৰোৰ বছ বেন শাহি তাহাব উত্তবে ছোট বেদ শাহি তাহাতে এক লক্ষ্মীনাবাগ্যনেব এক সেবা আছেন তাহাব পুর্ব্ব দিগিন মেবগড তাহাব পুর্ব্ব উদ্ধান এবং স্ক্রমনা তাহাব দিশিনে অক্ষর বট তাহাব দিশিনে তপোবন তাহাব পুর্বে নন্দ্রাট জে যাটে নলকে বৰ্নন হবিগ্নাছিলেন। অথ॥ বৰ্নাজীৰ পাব ভদ্ৰবন সেখানে ঠাকুবেবা ৬৬ কবিবাছিলেন তাহাব দক্তিনে ভাণ্ডিববন সেখানে ঠাকুবেবা ভাঁটা থেলাইবাছিলেন তাহাব দসিনে প্র্যাণ্ডট তাহাব দক্ষিনে চিববাট জে ঘাটে গোপিকাদিগেব বস্তু হবন কবিয়াছিলেন বস্ত্র কদধ্যাছে বানীয়া বাথিয়াছিলেন সে কদধ্যাছে অভাপি পূর্ব্বমত পুনশ্চ মথুবায় অনেক মহাজন আছেন আট দস আ(ছল। হাজাব গুজবাতি ব্ৰাহ্মন আছেন সন্ধ্যাকালে বিশ্ৰান্তঘাটে জমুনাজীব আৰতি ২য়েন: শহশ্ৰ শহশ্ৰ লোক জমা ২যেন গৃই প্ৰহৰ বাত্ৰি তক নাম সঞ্চিত্তন হয়েন পুনশ্চ মথুবাব উত্তর তিন জোষ শ্রীবৃন্দাবন গোবিন্দ-ক্রিউব খেবার পূর্ব্ব বেম্বকুপ গোপিনাথজীব ঘেবাব দক্ষিণ পশ্চীম নিধু

বন চহুছিগে পাকা আতির পূর্ব্বপশ্চীমা বন পশ্চীনদিগের ধরওয়ালা কুলের ভিতর লাইতে বামদিগে এক অন্তালিকা মতি গোপনির হান বাধনাবন্দ মন্তির অন্তর বজর বজুই নিধুবনের রাদক সহল সহল বানব বানরি বাধনাবন্দ মন্তির অন্তর বজর বৃদ্ধ শত্র পারবাধি অতি কোনল নানান পূক্ষ শক্ষর বিনিচ কোনল মধ্যে মহতের ও মহালানের বালাদিগের বহু কুল আছেন নিধুবনের পশ্চীমে কিছু ছর হর নিভূত নিকুল কোনোর বিহু বালালার স্থি সকল লইয়া বেসবিভাব করিতেন ঠাকুরাবালীরের প্রচিচ লাছেন নিহা পূলা হরেন নিহত নিকুলের পূর্বের প্রতিক মানাল সাহ এবং বনুনালার পোবিন্দলীর ঘেরার পশ্চীমে মহারাকছল ভাষার মধ্যে কির্ভিত্র রাগের কুল কান্ত রাম্যা হার প্রতিক আছেন তাহার দিশিন বারানলা সোটের কুল কান্ত রাম্যা হার প্রতিক ভাবের উক্তর এক বাউকোনে লন্যালী প্রিকুলাবনে কে কেথানে বানর বানরি লাছেন সকল রালারা রোলবন্দি ভক্ষণানিন্ধী বন্যান করিয়া দিলাছেন।

There are of course still many drawbacks and disadvantages of vocabulary and syntax we have occasional intrusion of definite and not meroly accidental alliteration inherited from the traditious of verse-forms and some of the lines are no doubt capable of exact

Observatoristics of reality want faultiess precocity at the outset and after all is said, it must

be admitted that here there is no longer any falling back npon the tricks of verse and other nicongenial things and that the rhythm attained is not really poetic rhythm but it is something approaching, in however groping fashion, to the creation of definite prose rhythm with its balance of phrase its variation of long and short sentences and its natural adjustment of clauses with due regard to general harmonic effect.

There are specimens of another work, supposed to date from the 18th century, called Brindabana Parchamā of which passages are quoted by Dineschandra

Sen in Banga Sāhitya Parichaya kramā (vol. 11, p 1674) from a MSS dated BS 1218 This composition, like

the Brndābana-līlā, also purports to be a description of the holy place a fact which seems to indicate that works of this nature were more numerous than usually supposed. The same characteristic descriptive style is also illustrated here and it is needless to quote here a longer passage than the following

তাহাব অগ্নিকোণে বাসন্থল কিশোবীবট সেই স্থানে গুপ্তত্বল Specimens of its জাবট গ্রামেব পশ্চিম কোকিল-বন কোকিলেব কুলি হইতেছে শ্রীমতী শুনিযাছিলেন সেই স্থানে এক কুণ্ড তাহাতে কেলিকদম্বেব গাছ বেষ্টিত আছে তাহা হইতে ছই কোশ চবণপাহাডী তাহাব উপব শ্রীবলবামজীএব চবণ-চিহু ১ হাত প্রস্থ অপ্ত অপুলি শ্রীক্তক্ষেব চবণ-চিহু তিন পোয়া প্রস্থ মাত অপুলি ঐ পাহাডেতে গোধনেব পাঁজ আব মোধেব পাঁজ আব উটেব পাঁজ দেই পাহাডেতে গ্রহিভাই মুবলীধ্বনি কবিয়াছিলেন পাহাডে হাটুগাড়া চিহু আছে তাহাব পশ্চিম মাত খব্যা থেলাব চিহু আছে তাহার পশ্চিম চরণগঙ্গা তাহাব দশ্দিণ অৰ্দ্ধ কোশ বড বেটনগ্রাম তাহাতে সেবা শ্রীমুবলীধ্ব ঠাকুব জীউ।

From the dry pseudo-metaphysical exposition of the Sahajiyā works to this 18th century descriptive prose is indeed a long step but this extraordinary development, apparently puzzling, will be intelligible when we take into account the fact that early Bengali poetical literature by this time had attained a very high degree of relative perfection and was by this process preparing the way for the creation of a literary language in general. The resources of the language and its literary

enpacities were now brought within easy reach of any

Development of the literary language in general

prose writer-although such writers were not plentiful-who would have had chosen to utilise them wonderfully rapid and accomplished literary devolonment of proce in the 19th century caught up summed and attered in more perfect form this literary heritage of past ages but even in a period of scanty prose

production such as the 18th century in which verse-treat ment of every subject was still predominant we cannot mutake the influence of the enormous literary perfection of the language in general on whatever bittle prose it produced

It may be necessary in this connexion in indicate the influence of Sanserit learning on early Bengali proce-

Induence of Sans-

writing It is proffy certain that the specimens of such prose as we possess whether of the metaphysical

or the descriptive sort represent penods when Sansent culture of some kind was already open to and in some degree had been enjoyed by the writers. Not only occasional Samerit forms and technicalities are perceived and some Sauscrit works on Law and Logio were directly translated but the general tendency maprite of occastonal easy note of works like Brudabana-lita was towards sauscritised if not ornate diction no effective Sanserit influence with its predilection for long-drawn-oot compound words complex sentence-fram ing, and other things, may be definitely traced anywhere This prose manner, however, cannot be called sanscritio in the sense in which it is used to designate the pedantio affectation of some of the Fort William College pundits or the Samernt College style of the fifties and it is remarkable that with hardly any model before them, these writers never chose to imitate the later sesquipedalian Sauserit prose style of Kadambari or Harsacharita Much has been written, however, on the Sanscrit influence which is supposed to have come through the Kathakas or professional story-tellers, whose manner and method of exposition is said to have considerably moulded the narrative or descriptive literature of type in question but it must be admitted that though sometimes then "set passages" evince a highly artistic or poetre style, their bombastically ornate diction artificial arrangement, their predilection for sinseritie forms and long-balanced sentences, their lighly cadenced rhetorical eloquence label their prose-passages at once as essentially one of the ornate kind showing little resemblance to the type of prose we are colour ot discussing

In the absence of any material to go upon, it is impossible to indicate how fir the experiment in descriptive prose of the literary kind, such as we find in the  $Brn\bar{a}ban-l\bar{\iota}l\bar{a}$  or  $Brnd\bar{a}ban-parikram\bar{a}$ , was followed upon in any other prose-writing of the period but the existence and popularity of such contemporary descriptive poems as  $K\bar{a}\hat{s}\bar{\iota}-parikram\bar{a}$  of Jayanarāyan would seem to indicate,

Miscellaneous prose writings

inspite of occasional and timid tiespass, the still exclusive monopoly of veise in the domain of such litera-

ture The excursion of prose, however, beyond the narrow limits of metaphysical matter was an attempt the lesson of which was perhaps not wholly lost. From the few prose preces of that century which have come down to us, we find application of prose in treatises on law, logic, and medicine, subjects hitherto attempted, as all subjects were, in verse Although only a few such works have yet been discovered, it is quite

plansible that such attempts were not sporadic or neelated but were more immercus and deb berate than the scanty remains would Not sucredio or isoquatify us to infer One limitation lated attempts. still remains namely, that of translation (for most of these works are translations or adaptations from Sansent ungr cale) but translation in the school time of Bengali prose is not a drawback or disadvantage but a distinct means of attaining diversity, adequater and accomplish ment. Here is a very simple passage from a manuscript (about 200 years old) on medicine called a fagial missi (Aubirāji Pālilā) A treatise on Medi which gives a recips for dyspepsia

বাই শগনের প্রতিকার। প্রশারি পর। গুণারি কাটিরা ফণেতে
দিছ করিব। তবে হয়ে দিনাইব। গুছ করিরা গুড়া করিব। তবে বশান
তোলাইব। ধরা ক্রিকু গুড়কক (१) লৈটেন্ট্র তেমপার কলাইচ নামে
বর তানিশনর রক্তন্দন শরকার ধেবনার কালিরা মহরী লবস।
গুটিছব। গুটি ও তোলা নবাত ১৬ সের হয়ে ১৯৮। গুটি চুর্ণ করিব।
ক্রিকান লাইব। তবে বকাল বিব। বলা কিরা বুলা শিশুল বংশ
শোচন গুড়ক কোইত তেমশর কালারিরা বিব গুটী মরীচ নামেবর এবাং
ক্রিব। তবে দিছ হয়। ইহার শ্ল গুড়া। আঘল পীরি গুটে। বুক
বেগা গুটে। খাশন হবতে বে ২ বলবান হব তালা গুটা। ইহার নাম
গুটিছব।

The following passage is from a work on the "Philosophy of Grammar' called Bhānā paricheheda (Stal Mānā) (MS dated BS 1181) apparently a translation of and on the philosophy of gramm name. The beginning runs thus

The text given here a little modernised perhaps in spelling follows the quotation in S P Patrikl, 1306, no, I p. 51

গোতন মুনিকে শিশ্য সকথে। জিজাসা কবিনেন, আমাবদিগের মুক্তি কি প্রকাবে হয় তাহা কলা কবিয়া বলহ। তাহাতে গোতম উত্তব কবি-তেছেন তাবং পদার্থ জানিলেই মুক্তি হয়। তাহাতে শিশ্যারা সকরে জিজাসা কবিলেন পদার্থ কতো। তাহাতে গোতম বহিতেছেন। পদার্থ প্রকাব। ত্রবা ওল কথা সামান্ত বিশেষ সমবার জভাব। তাহাব মধ্যে দ্রবা বন্ধ প্রকাব।

## Agam

নীমাংসা মতে কর্তায়ক শদ নিজে রুক্তায়ক শদ ভল্ল বর্ণায়ক শদকে দ্বির্ব কংহন মীমাংসকেবা প্রমায়া মানেন না। 'জতঃপ্র বর্ণের প্রবিচয় কহিছে। ব্যাপার্বাই ব্যবণের নাম করণ। ব্যাবন জ্বার কার্যাজনক যে হয় তাহার নাম ব্যাপার। 'জতামিতির জ্পর কারণ প্রমতা জাছে। ইহাতে প্রাচীন পণ্ডিতের্বা বহেন পর্নতে বহিং নন্দেহের নাম প্রসতা। এ কথা ভালো নহে কারণ যে হয় সে এবল্ল রোগ্রব অব্যবহিত পূর্ব্ব ফণেতে থাকে। প্রথম ক্ষণে সাব্য সংশ্য পরে ব্যাপ্তির স্থিক প্রমান । তবে প্রামর্শ কালে সংশ্য নাই হইলে এল্মনিতির পূর্ব্বর্ফণ প্রমান কর হয় সে করে বার্যাকির বার্যাকির প্রমান করার হয় সে করে হয় সে করে কর্মান হয় সে হয় সে হয় সে করে স্থায়ার প্রমার্য ত্রিকণে নাই হয় জানিরে। ব্যারার বিশ্বর স্থায়ার প্রমার্য ত্রিকণে নাই হয় জানিরে।

From a work on law and ritual called Byabasth $\bar{a}$ -tatva  $^2$ 

অথ অপানন নিমিত্তক গোবধ প্রারশ্চিত্ত ব্যবস্থা। সর্ল্লথা প্রকাবে প্রতিপানন না কবে ইহাতে শীত অনিল উদ্ধান শৃত্যাগাব জন্মধ্য অগ্নিদাহ পতন গর্ত্তে গ্রাঘ্র ইত্যাদি নিমিত্তক যদি গোবধ হয় তবে অর্দ্ধ

This passage is taken from a notice of the manuscript in question in S P Patrikā, 1304, p 325 the text is obviously punctuated and modernised in spelling. More specimens of this prose would have been welcome, but unfortunately only these two passages are given. I have not been able to get access to the manuscript itself.

This curious manuscript is noticed in S P  $Patrik\bar{a}$ , 1 308, p 43 from which the above quotation is taken. It is written in Sanscrit but part of it is in Bengali prose. The date of the manuscript is 1235 BS

পোচর্ম গালে দিকো গোসহিত প্রথাহ বাঙাবাব্য ইতিক্তবাঙা ক্রিকা প্রদাশভাবত প্রার্শিত হয়। বাদ ইতিক্তবাঙা না কোরিতে পারে তবে ইতিক্তবাঙার অধুক্র এক প্রার্শিতা হয়। অভএব প্রার্শিতা হই প্রায়শিত হয়। তদ অধুক্ল বটু কার্যাপন ব্যাটিকা দিবেক। ইংাতে এক সামাজ গোধনিশা হয় ভ্রম্মত্র বুধনুশ্য শক্ষ কার্যা। সামাজ গোনুশ্য এক কার্যাপন এবং বটু কার্যাপন ব্যাটিকা দ্দিশা হয়। ইংাতে বিশেব বচনপ্রায় শুদ্রের প্রার্শিত হয়।

The stiffness of the subject and style of the original is no doubt, partially responsible for the want of ease or fluency in the translation but the very fact that the translator had to keep himself close to his original gave him a more correct syntax and a precision and condensation of language, eminently suited for such exposition but differing greatly from the sententious manner of the previous age.

Even the theological literature assumed a more orderly style. This will be illustrated from the following short passage from Gäänädisädkanä quoted in Bariga Säkilya Parickana 1

পরে মঞানী নিতা কনে হৈয়া সেই সাধুকে শ্রীশুক্ত জ্ঞান করিয়া জিঞাগা করেন স্মান্তেক ক্লগা করিয়া মাধুজ্ঞান জন্মাইতা পরে নিতা জ্রীনবুষীপের

A passage from Gjänädi Sädhanä. বীকুক চৈত্যকে পুথক মেশাইয়া নিত্য বীধুলা বনের পরমেশ্বর বীকুক্ষাদিকে দেখাইয়া কুতার্থ

করিবেন। পরে সেই সাধু কুপা করিব। সেই
আফ্রান জনকে তৈওঞ্জ করিবা তাহার পরীবের নধ্যে জীবাধাকে
অওপে দেবাইবা পরে তাহার বান কর্মেও জীবৈতঞ্জনম কহিব। পরে

Vol II pp. 1630-37 This IIB dated 1158 B S is also noticed in S. P. Patrika, 1904, p. 341 where it is called Sadkan Katha. The text as given in these places re obviously punctuated and corrocted in spelli g সেই চৈত্যখ মত্রেব তার্থ জানাইনা পবে সেই জীব দ্বাবাত্র দশ ইন্দ্রিনাদিনুক্ত নিত্য শবীব দেখাইরা পবে সাবক অভিমানে শ্রীক্রকাদিব রূপ আবোপ চিপ্তাতে দেখাইনা পবে সিদ্ধি অভিনান শ্রীক্রকাদিব মুক্তি পৃথক দেখাইরা প্রেমলক্ষণাব সমাধি ভক্তিতে সংস্থাপন কবিলেন। পবে সেই অঞানী জন এইপ্রকাবসেই গুকু হইতে আপনাব আত্মাকে পৃথক দেখিনা পবে নিত্য শ্রীনবদ্বীপেব শ্রীক্রক্ষাচিত্য মহাপ্রভুকে পৃথক দেখিনা পবে সাবক দেখিরা অভিমানে শ্রীবাধাক্রকাদি পৃথক প্রেমলক্ষণা বননরী ভক্তি কবিরা নিত্য বসে বিবাজ কবিলে প্রক্ষাব সেই গুকুস্থানে. কহেন আপনে আমাব জ্ঞানদাতা শ্রীগুকু আপনি আমাব জ্ঞান জন্মাইরাছেন কি না তাহা ব্রিবাব কাবণ আনাকে জিঞাসা কবিবাছেন তাহাতে আপনি আমাকে যে প্রকাব জ্ঞান জন্মাইনাছেন তাহাতে আমি যে প্রকাব ব্রিয়াছি তেমত কহিলাম। পবে সেই জ্ঞানদাতা শ্রীগুক্ শিশ্বকে আলিপন কবিবা আশীর্মাদ কহিলেন তুনাব প্রঞ্জানআদি জন্মিবাছে তুনি শ্রীকুন্দাবনে প্রেনলক্ষণা বস্থনী ভক্তিতে বিবাজ কব ॥ ইতি॥

All this is indeed a great advance towards periodic or balanced prose. The syntax is not irregular the verb is not dropped or shifted at will the clauses are not clumsily thrown together or inverted

Advance towards maturity not decline

with complete disregard of general harmony in short, the whole trend

is a movement towards maturity and not decline, and, if it is not too sweeping to generalise, towards modernity itself

It would not be strictly proper to take into account, as specimens of literary style, the prose of a few deeds and documents which have come down from the 17th and 18th centuries but this "documentary" prose though seldom

Prose of deeds and documents what they illustrate application of piose to an infinite variety of subjects, the right direc-

tion was being taken towards systematic prose-writing,

towards the creation of a prose-of-all work. In those days of Persian ascendancy the application of Bengah to these documents is a fact significant in itself, and these speciments show vernacular letter writing, one of the most powerful instruments in the formation of a general prose style, in full operation. Before the Third Literary Conference in North Beugal (1316 B S ) the President in his address quoted specimens of two Bengali letters written by Assamese

A tings one of which dates back to
1477 and the other to 1553 Saka.
We quote here the first named letter
dated 1477, written by Rilla Narapärikan to the Abeme

dated 1477, written by Rājā Narabārāvan to the Aheme King Chukainfā Svargadeva

যতি দক্ষ দিপুৰত্বি কর্ণাকাৰ্যনীগ্ৰপ্ৰচনিত্বিধক্ষণ্থাবাৰ কৈলানপা ওয়ফশারানিবিধানিত নিশিষ্টপতিদশভ্ৰত্বিক্লিকল প্ৰিত্ত ক্ৰেব্ৰথীব্যাক্তি হৈছিল ক্ৰিক্তান্ত্ৰীয় ক্ৰেব্ৰথাৰ ক্ৰিক্তান্ত্ৰীয় ক্ৰেক্তান্ত্ৰীয় ক্ৰিক্তান্ত্ৰীয় ক্ৰিক্

লেখনং কার্যক। এখা খাখার কুশল। তোখার কুশল নিরপ্তরে বাহা করি। মখন তোখার আখার সংগ্রহসন্দারক পত্রাপত্তি গতারাত হইবে উভয়ানুকুল প্রতিব বাঁল অভ্নিত হইবেক। আখারা সেই উভ্যাপত করিও সে বঙ্গাক পাই পুশিত করিও ইইবেক। আখারা সেই উভ্যাপত আছি। তোখারো এগোট কওঁবা উচিত হয়। না কর তাক আগনে আন। অধিক কি লেখিব। সভ্যানশ কর্মী রাখেবর শর্মা কামবেকু ও ধুনা সহায় উছত চাউনিরা প্রানহাই ইমরাক পাঠাইতেছি ভানরার মুখে সকল স্থাচার বুকিরা চিতাপ বিধার দিবা।

Reports of the Conforence (Ultura Bakya Sähtiya bammilana Triliya dikiberasa Keryab barayi), pp. 30-37-Theso were first published in Asambant Juno 37 1901 and August 1 1901. The first of these letters has been (without any indication of its source) reprinted in Banya Sähtiya Parickaya vol. ii, p. 10°2. Here is an extract from the second letter dated 1553 Saka written by the Assamese King to Mohammedan Faujdār Nawāb Aleyār Khān of Ganhāti

স্বন্তি বিবিধ গুণগাঙীগ্যপবমোদাব শ্রীযুক্ত নবাব তালেনাব খা সদাশয়েষু।

সংসং লিখনং কার্যাঞ্চ। আগে এথা কুশন। তোনাব কুশন সততে চাহি। পরং সমাচাবপত্র এহি। এথন তোনাব উবিল পএনং সানিরা আমাব স্থান পহুঁছিল। আমিও প্রীতিপ্রাণাপূর্বাক জ্ঞাত হইনান। আব তুমি যে লিখিরাছ তোনাব উত্তম পত্র আসিতে আমাব কিঞ্চিং মনপিতা না রহে এযে তোমাব ভালাই দৌলত। গতএব আমিও পবন আহলাদরূপে জানিতে আছো তোনাব আমাব অন্বয়ভাব প্রীতি যিদনে মননাফিক নত্যোব কি কারণ না হইবেক। আব তোনাব আমাব অত্যন্তর্বপে আনন্দমুক্ত হইলে উভয়্ব পক্ষ লোকেব নাবিদ্বেশক্ষপ অবিবৃত্তা অন্তর্শতে বিসক না বহিবেক। এ কাবণ তুমি লেখিবাক পোবা।

Extract from Nanda kumār's letter to Gurudās

Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā (BS 1310, pp 62-65)<sup>1</sup>

তোমাব মঙ্গল সর্ব্বদা বাসনা কবনক অত্র কুশল প্রবস্তঃ ২৫ তাবিথেব পত্র ২৭ বোজ বাত্রে পাইষা সমাচাব জানিলাম শ্রীত্ত ফেতবত আলিথা এর এখানে আইশনেব সম্বাদ জে লিথিযাছিলে এতগণতক পঁহুচেন নাই পঁহুচিলেই জানা জাইবেক শ্রীত্ত বায় জগৎচন্দ্র বিষ বোজেব পর বাটি ২ইতে আসিখাছেন বেমত ২ কুচেষ্টা পাইতেছেন তাহা জানাই গেল তিনি যথা ২ জাউন ফলত কার্য্যেব দ্বাবাতেই ব্রিবেন পষ্ট হইয়া আপনাবি মন্দ্র কবিতেছেন সে সকল লোকেও ভাবশ্য ব্রিবেক ভুমি শ্রীত্ত মেস্ত্র

<sup>1</sup> For the history and text of these documents, see S. P. Patrikā, 1306, pp. 297-301 and ibid, 1308. The text, however, is taken from a very modern copy of the original. They are reprinted in Banga Sāhitya Parichaya, vol. u, pp. 1638-43

বেদলটান পাহেবের নিকট জাতারাত করিবে একখত ভাষাকে শিখিলাম দিয়া নিয়ালা সকল কহিবে ও হানিবে তথান জেরণ কলোপকলন ছয় তাহার মত্ত করিবে তিঁহ চিত্রে জানেন জে আনার কথাক্রেই ইনি কার্য্য করিতেছেন হামাৰন্ত্রপ ভাষার সাহিত নিলিবে কোনও বিশ্র ভীষ্য নহিবে।

This is not absolutely despicable writing, even though in the last extract there is an in decument in the last extract there is an in extable tincture of Persian due partly perhaps to the fact that it was addressed to a Mohammedan Nawab. The same tendency is illustrated by the documents dated B S 1125 and 1137, relating to the Baiyaab triumph of Rādhii Mohan Das Ihūkur' which were published and edited by R Fribedt in the Patriks from which it is needless to quote more than the following short illustrative extract. It speaks of the 7493 doctring the contract is speaks of the 7493 doctring the contract in the contrac

গরে আধরা কহিলান সৌড্ধেনে শ্রীশ্রুত প্রান্তর সাগাদিত স্থান সেখানে শ্রীশ্রুত তাগবত সাত্রী আছেন এবং সভাসং স্থান আছেন ভাহারা মহোপান্থার বিচার হইবেক গৌতে গরকীর ধর্মের অবিকারী ভাহারা মকীর ধর্ম গরে কেন এখানে বেনং সভাসং ইইল সৌড্ধেনে অনেক সভাসন্ আছে বিচার করিবেক মতএব এখানকার সভাসন্ এক গতিত ও এক নন্ধোগরার বার তাবে বিচার করিবা করীর ধর্ম সংস্থাপন করিয়া মাইসে ভাহাতে সর্ক্রন্ত্র বতে শ্রীবৃত্ত নহারালা সভাসন্ শ্রীবৃত্ত

Some letters of Nandakum Ar dated 1755 are published by Bove ridge in the National Migrams (September 1873). The letter of which quotation is given is dated 1772.

In this connection it is necessary to mention the documents relating to the affairs of LNE Udayankriyan REy published in the Patrika, 1308 pp. 243-54. Implie of a slight admixture of Persian here we have good specimens of descriptive proce. The passages, however are too lengthy for full quotation here.

ক্ষুক্তদেব ভট্টাচার্য্য জিঁহো স্বকীয় প্রবকীয় বিভিন্ন কবিলেন তিহো দিখিছেয় महावाजाव में इहेर्ड डाहारक जानिया जनः जक ननस्याननाव महिड প্রযাগ ও কানা হইনা আইশান তাবাও প্রকীয়ান নপ্তথত ক্রিয়া দিলেন পবে জৌডদেশে অসিনা গোসানাগণ ও নহাওনভান নহাওশাখাগণ যে যে স্থানে আছেন সর্মাত্র খনেক বিচাব ২১ল সকলে বিচাবে দিগ্রিজ্গী স্থানে অজ্যপত্র দিলেন পবে শ্রীপাট্থণ্ডে আইলাম তাহাদের সহিত অনেক কথোপকণন হইল তাহাবা কহিলেন সামবা এএনি মহাপ্রত্র মতাবলম্বী তাহাৰ মতাবিকাৰী শ্ৰীশ্ৰী০ ছম গোসামী তাহাৰা যে মত ভাবলম্ব গ্রহণ কবিষাছেন নেই মত আনবা বাছন কবি নেই সৰ মতেব माव शास्त्रां नीवा (वह-व्यानिक वनः अप-व्यानिक वनः वम-व्यानिक व দকল ভাগৰত শাস্ত্ৰ কবিনাছেন তাহা ব্যতিবেক কবিয়া আমৰা প্ৰবীনায় কিমত দস্তথত কবিব শ্বতএব শ্রীবৃত গোস্বানীব গানিব গ্রহণারে অধিকাৰী শ্ৰীশ্ৰীত চিনিবাস আচাৰ্যা ঠাকুৰ তাহাৰ নতান সকল আছেন তাহাদের স্থানে খাগে দওথত করাহ তবে আমবাহ দওধত কবিগা দিব এ কথায় আমবা শ্রীপাট যাজিগ্রাম বাইনা দ্বল কবিতে কহিলেন আমবা স্বকীয়াৰ দন্তথত বিনা বিচাবে পাৰিব না আমবা শ্ৰীচৈতগু মহাপ্রভুব মতাবলম্বী অতএব বিচাবে যে ধর্ম প্রান্ধী হয় তাহাই লইবে এই মত কবাৰ হইল বিচাৰ মানিলাম তাহাতে পাতসাই শুভা শ্ৰীবৃত নবাব জাফব খাঁ সাংহব নিকট দবখান্ত হইল তিহো কহিলেন ধর্মাধর্ম বিনা ৩জবিজ হয় না অতএব বিচাব কবুল কবিলেন সেই মত সভাসদ २२० ।

These 17th and 18th century documents and other prose pieces show that even in the hands or mouths of people, who cannot be strictly called literary, the vernacular

Summary of the achievements of old Bengali prose

in that stage of prose-writing had quite got out of mere rusticity or children babblement. The stage of apprenticeship was indeed not over

but it is good straight-forward Bengali attaining sufficient

rhythmical and verbal ilignity and showing the way to better things if it had suited the writers to write more originally in prose. Treatises on law medicine and umlar documents or e-otoric theological writing can soldon in the very nature of the raw lay claim to become competency or to the motive power of tyle but the description of Brudaban and such other things gives better opportuni ties and rude though the resources of form and model were yet such as thoy were they were used with sufficient This though qualified is high praise indeed. Full and mature prose style is yet to come indeed tyle in the strict and rare ense had searcely been attained or consciously attempted. The necessary stock of material was yet to be accumulated the necessary plant and method of working to be slowly and painfully elaborated. There was still clumsiness and uncouth handling inseparable from earliness and immaturity. These Sahanya and other works again written as this were for an ixclusive and exotenc sect and in a difficult language were not very widely known or easily acces ible to all in fact their reneral influence was not much and this may be one reason why their very landable attempt at vertacular prose-writing was not so widely taken up or readily emulated as it should have been. But the return to vernacular writing from Sangerit or Persian, the general change of ground from vene to prose the wideniu, of subjects and methods the practising of a perfectly homely and remacular style free from obscurity or ornate Sansent

Its formal importance and general movement towards the evolution of an indigenous prose style constructions and lastly the example of easy plain business-like narration not altogether devoid of character all this meant a very great deal. The result achieved may not have been

hterature in the proper sense but the small amount of

positive achievement should not blind us to its immense formal importance or to the fact that all this indicated a movement towards better and better prosessiving and the gradual evolution of an indigenous prosessivle. But in the years which followed, during days of political and social instability and general decay of culture consequent upon revolutionary changes of government, the development of Bengali prosessive with a

Its arrested development

great check, and it was not until nearly a century had clapsed, with the

establishment of prace and prosperity, business and leisure, congenial to its enlity ition, that we have again the service exercise of elaborate prose. But for this irrested development and its rebuth under entirely different conditions, Bengal prose would have developed along the lines indicated, entirely self-made and home-grown?

Since writing the above coars on Old Bength Prose I have seen the text of Golah Samhitā of Bridāban Die is published in the Patrilā 1309, pp 55-59. It purports to be a brief treatise on cosmology. The MS is undated but it has been supposed to be not older than the latter part of the 18th century. The beginning is in prose while the latter part is in verse. Here is an illustrative extract.

নর্কাদৌ মহাশ্না। তদুপনি অককার। তহুপরি ব্দুক্রের। তহুপরি খ্রি পরন। তহুপরি কুর্মনাজ। তহুপনি ঐবাবত। এন রব সহস্র কণা। আন মহাদণা। তার পরে। সপ্ত পাতাল। কি কী। এতন > বিতল ২ ফ্রতন ও তনাতল ও ন্যাতন ৫ মহাতন ও পাতাল ৭ এই নপ্তপাতাল। তহুপনি পৃণিবি। পৃনিবি বেস্টিড নপ্ত নাগন। কি কী। লবন > ইমু ২ ফ্রাও দর্শিস্ ৪ দ্বি ৫ ছুদ্ধ ৬ জনাত্রকা ৭। সপ্তদিপ বেস্টিড নপ্ত সাগব। সপ্ত দিপের নাম কি। জ্বাদিপ শুক্রিপি কুম্দিপ বাঞ্নদ্বিপ সাকর্ছিপ প্রথবিপ গ্রেপ্তি ।

### APPENDIX II

[ Pigr 109 footsole]

#### THE BENGALI BIRLS

With respect to the name given to the Serampore Bible we have the following entry in Fountain Diary on the 1th January 1798 (quoted in Contributions towards a History of Biblical Translations in India Calcutta 1851) - This morning the Pundit attended upon us. It was observed that the word Manulakhwan would not properly denominate the whole Bible as it only signified good news a term more applicable to the Go-pel It was then proposed to call the Public Pharma Strates but the Publit said Starter only meant that writing which contained command. or orders. We must therefore call it Dharm i pust ika, re the Holy Book ' On the 18th March 1800 1 the first sheet of Matthew was printed. On the 7th February 1801 the first edition of the Bengali New Testament was published It consisted of 2 000 comes the expense was £62. In 1800, the translation of the Old Testament was finished The books of the Old Testament as printed by the Serampore Press (1801 00) are m 1 volumes re (1) Pentateuch 1801 (2) Joshua Esther 1809 (3) Job-Song of Solomon 1804 (4) Isauh Malachi, 1800 According to the Seminpore Memoirs however the dates of publication are (1) 180' (2) 1809, (3) 1803 (1) 1807 The Memoirs however are not always reliable in this respect The Psalter appears to have been assued separately in 1803

The date is incorrectly given as 1803 by Dinesh Ch. Sen (Hist. of Beng Lang and Lit 1911 p. 8.2) See Tenth Memoir Appendix.

In 1803, the second edition of the Bengali New Testament was commenced and in 1806, it was ready, 1500 copies The proof-sheets were examined by every one of the missionaries, and, in addition to this, Carey and Maishman went through it, verse by verse, one reading the Greek, the other the Bengali text In 1800, the Old Testament was published and in the same year, the whole Bible appeared in five large volumes. It was the work of Carey's own hand (manuscripts may be seen still in the cossession of the Serampore Baptist Missionaries), for, Ward, writing some years subsequently, mentions that Carey "wrote with his own pen the whole of the five volumes" In 1809, a third edition of the New Testament went to the Press, consisting of 100 copies and came out in 18:1 It was a tolio edition. The fourth edition of the New Testament was commenced in 1813 and published in 1817 (5,000 copies) [the date is wrongly given as 1816 in the tenth Memoir, the sixth edition of the New Testament and third edition of the Old in 1820, 8th edition of the whole Bible in 1832 the text of this revised edition in double columns is divided into two parts 1 Genesis Esther, p 204 2 Job Malachi and the New Testament pp 623 The New Testament has a separate title-page, with dite 1832 in Bengali, and 1833 in English figures Other important subsequent translations of the Bible are

(1) The Old Testament translated from the original Hebrew by Dr W Yates and the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries with native assistants, pp. 813, Calcutta 1844. The New Testament translated by Dr Yates, Calcutta 1833, and also an edition printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 2 vols in Roman character, London, 1839. The whole Bible translated out of the original tongues by W. Yates and other Calcutta Baptist.

Missionaries with native assistants, pp. 1144, Calcutta 1845

- (2) The above revised by J. Wenger pp. 1139 Calcutta, 1861. A reprint in smaller size appeared in 1867, edited with shight alterations by C. B. Lewis.
- (3) The Holy Bible in Bengali with references translated by the Baptist Missionaries with Bengali assistants Revised edition by G. H. Rouse, pp. 815-257. Calcutta 1897.
- (4) The New Testament translated by J F Ellerton pp 993 Calcutta 1819

The different books of the Bible published separately are not mentioned here the earliest being Matthew (1800) to which were annexed some of the most remarkable prophecies in the Old Testament respecting Christ' The next in chronological order of publication was Pentateuch (1801)

### APPENDIX III

(Page 187 footnote)

Shost, ho Kot, ha K, henkshi, yalee ar Danrkaker

Ek K, henkshi, yalee dek, hilek ek danikak b, halo ek tookia poneerei apan mook, he lo, i, ya ek gach, her daler oopoi bosh, ya ioh, yach, he, tutk, hyonat k, henksh, yalee bibechona konte lagilo je emon shoo shwadoo grash kemon korı ya hat konte panbo Kohilek, he pin ye kak ajı shokale tomake dek, hi ya ami boio shontooshto ho iyach, hi, tomar shoondui moniti ai oojjol palok amai yoti, jodi nomiota kiome toomi onoogroho kom ya amake ektee gan shoona, ite, tobe nishshondeho janitam je tomai shwoi tomar ai ai goonei shoman bote Anondonmotto kak e 1 onoonoyo kot hate b hooli ya tahake apan shoorer porrpatee dek, ha ibar jonye mook, h k, hoolilek tok, hon poneer neeche por lo, taha tok, hon k, henkshi, yalee oot, ha, i, ya lo<sub>t 1</sub> ya 10, VO 100kta prosht han korrlek, ar danrkakke obshoro krome apon mitti hya gorimai ki hed korite iaki hi ya gelo

Ihai  $p_l$  hol  $e_l$  i, jek hane aiopit koʻ tʻ ha piobesh koie shekʻ hane gnyan gochai lop paʻ e

The system of transliteration adopted by Gilchist for Bengali was substantially the same as that devised by him for Hindoosthani, Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit. It was on a phonetic basis and it attempted to render by means of English spelling the *sounds* of Bengali, without any reference to the established orthography of the language, even in the case of Sanscrit words. The Roman yowels had

their Explish values. The rival system of Sir William Junes very properly adopted the Italian or Latin values of the Roman vinvels and thie epstem modified by Wilson and Hunter binally with the day Gilchrist uses of fir w, the Sanserit and Hindusthani sound of wheiring regularly represented by which is is dennied by 1 and white used for with a seing used wherever these letters are so pronunced. The cerebrals are in italics that the half of the aspirate is separated from the stop letter by a bar as in Sir William Joness system (\$\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}

## APPENDIX IV

(Page 237 footnote)

# EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIODICALS (BENGALI)

The Samāchar Darpan and the Digdarsan were not properly speaking, missionary papers for religious controversy was sedulously avoided The first Christian periodical was the Gospel Magazine (8vo pp 1-16), English and Bengali, commenced in 1819 by the Missionaires of the London Missionary Society and continued till 1823 Then came the Evangelist, edited by Rev J Robinson and started in 1843 by the Baptist Association it was in existence for three years The Upudeśaka was commenced in 1847 and edited by J Wenger, continued till 1857, when the editor went home, it was recommenced in 1863 atter his return and ultimately ceased in 1865 Satyanaba edited by the missionaires of the Church of England, was begun in 1849 five volumes appear to have been published The Aruondaya, a fortnightly journal, was started in 1856 by the Calcutta Tract Society hrst editor was Rev Lalbeham De These are, in their chronological order, all the purely Christian periodicals, published during the first half of the century

#### A YEARANTA A

#### EARLY CHRISTIAN TRACTS

It is impossible, if it is at all worth while to draw up a complete list of the early Christian tracis in Bengah A pretty fair list will be found in Murdoch (atalogue of Christian Ferniculus Literature of India Madras 1870 pp. 1-31. But this is by no means exhaustive. See also Long (atiligue (1856) Return if Annea and Britings etc. (1855) heters Relating to Bengali Publications (1859). Some of these tracts may be found in the Scrampore College Library and other missionary centres. See also Blumhardt, Cattliegue of Bengali Printel Books in the littles Musicum and Citalogue of Bengali Publications (1865), supplements Long a heturn helating to Bengali Publications (1859) and commercies only those missionary publications which were printed after 1865.

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